

Denmark and the Crusades, 1400–1650

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VOLUME 30

Denmark and the Crusades, 1400–1650

By
Janus Møller Jensen



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2007

Cover illustration: Detail of Olaus Magnus' *Carta Marina* of 1539. Photo: *Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, Copenhagen, Denmark.

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Detailed Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data are available on the Internet at <http://catalog.loc.gov>

ISBN 978 90 04 15579 4
ISSN 1569-1462

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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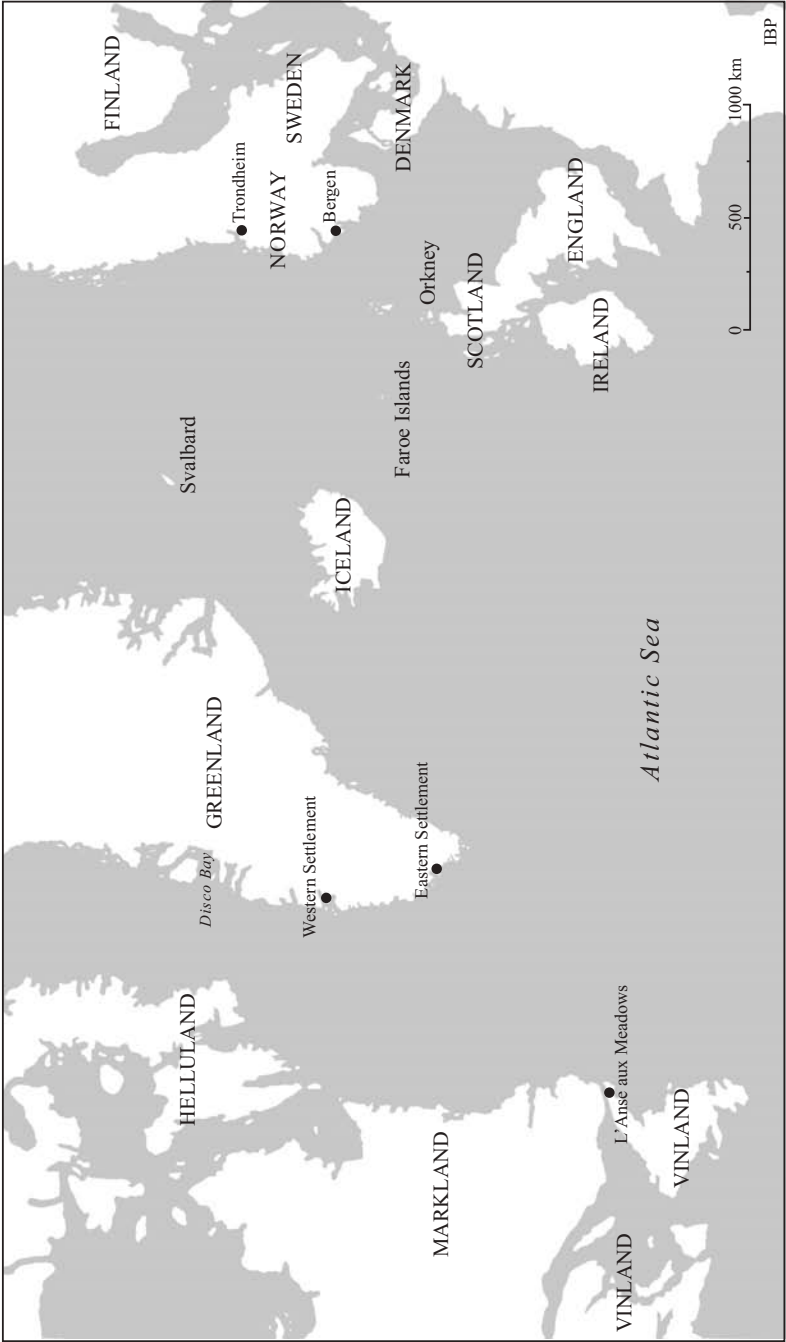
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Map 1. Denmark and the North Atlantic in the fifteenth century



Map 2. Scandinavia and the Baltic



Map 3. Denmark 1400–1648

PREFACE

The present work is a slightly revised version of my Ph.D.-thesis, which was publicly defended in the autumn of 2005 at the University of Southern Denmark. It was only the third dissertation to appear from a Scandinavian University on the history of the crusades in more than 300 years. Before Ane L. Bysted successfully defended her thesis on the theology of the crusade indulgence at the University of Southern Denmark in 2004, 317 years had passed since Lars Norrman, later professor in Greek language at the University of Uppsala in Sweden, in November 1687 defended his doctoral dissertation *Dissertatio-politica de Expeditionibus Cruciatibus* on the judicial background for the crusades to the Holy Land. The dissertation was altogether only the second on the history of Scandinavia and the crusades to appear since the French Count Paul Riant in 1865 published his doctoral dissertation on Scandinavian participation in the pilgrimages and crusades to the Holy Land, covering the years 1000 to 1350. It was the first that explicitly dealt with late-medieval crusading in Denmark and its continuing influence beyond the Reformation. A grant from The Danish Research Council for the Humanities has made it possible for me to continue my research into the history of the crusades at the University of Southern Denmark including finishing this book.

Several people had the confidence to recommend me when applying to study for the Ph.D.-dissertation: mag.art. Michael H. Gelting, Danish National Archives; Professor Niels Lund, University of Copenhagen; Dr. Rasa Mazeika, Lithuanian Archives of Canada, Ontario; Dr. Alan V. Murray, University of Leeds; Dr. Christopher J. Tyerman, University of Oxford; and of course my supervisor Dr. Kurt Villads Jensen. My debt to these people is enormous. It is my vain hope that what follows will live up to the confidence they had in me.

Working at the University of Southern Denmark is a real pleasure and much reading has been done on the train between Copenhagen and Odense. The scholarly environment at the Department of History is excellent, and for all the good advice and interest they have shown in my work special thanks go to “the medievalists”, Dr. Lars Bisgaard, fil. dr., theol.dr.h.c. Tore Nyberg, Dr. phil. John H. Lind, and Dr. Carsten Selch Jensen, now at the University of Copenhagen. Special thanks go

to my “office-mates”, especially Anette Nibe for keeping up my spirits and some good laughs. I am truly grateful for the conversations about the long afterlife of crusading with Niels Henrik Holmqvist-Larsen, Department of Employment, whose great learning and impressive private library have been a tremendous source of insight and inspiration. I would also like to thank Dr. Lars Hermanson, Uppsala University and Knut Peter Lyche Arstad, The Norwegian Armed Forces Museum, for making it possible to present my work in Sweden and Norway.

Four people took the time to read parts of this work in progress: Dr. Kim Esmark, Roskilde University; Dr. Ane L. Bysted, University of Southern Denmark; Dr. phil. John H. Lind; and Dr. phil. Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Their comments and expert help have been invaluable. In the same breath I would like to record my gratitude to Alan Murray for his suggestions and comments to the entire work. And special thanks to Tom Pettitt and Harry Hendrick. *Meliora eis, falsa mihi.*

This is especially true of the one person who read the whole work from start to finish, my supervisor Kurt Villads Jensen. The support for and interest in this work he has shown from its beginning to its end has clearly gone beyond anything that could be expected of a supervisor. Thank you, Kurt, for always listening patiently, being interested, and for enthusiastic responses to reports of the latest findings and discoveries, either at the office or over the phone at all hours when it simply just couldn't wait. I have learned and benefited more from studying and teaching with you than I will be able to express here.

Both the patience and encouragement of my wife Nanna Ny Kristensen made it possible to finish the dissertation within the three years allowed. Although this is the second thesis on the history of the crusades I have completed while we have known each other, her interest and support have never wavered, even though at times she must have felt that she was virtually married to the crusades. The final phases of the writing were made immensely more interesting and fun with the birth of our baby daughter Lea. Her toothless smile made my stress and panic that occurred vanish in a second. Both my wife and my daughter have been instrumental in turning the thesis into a book: One through continuous commitment and encouragement, the other by politely but very determined informing me when it was time to stop working.

The ambition of the present work is twofold: to shed new light on Danish history in the Middle Ages and in the early modern period, and to make a contribution to international crusade studies, which means that I have written with two different audiences in mind. Just as Danish history might not be well-known to historians working outside the field of Scandinavian studies, so broadly speaking the recent trends in crusade historiography and late medieval crusading have yet to make their impact in Denmark. People working within the respective fields might think that I ignore complex and technical issues and others will perhaps find something that seems self-evident. I hope that the compromises I have been forced to make will not cloud the presentation of the main argument in this book. All quotations in the Scandinavian languages and Latin have been translated into English by me if not otherwise indicated. Proper names are given in the forms that I find are the most usual in Northern Europe. No attempt has been made, however, to modernize all forms found in the sources when I did not feel that it would contribute to the understanding of the presentation of a certain argument—for instance, when merely citing names from letters of indulgence.

Copenhagen June 2006
Janus Møller Jensen

INTRODUCTION

The last crusade has been fought many times and in many different places. Denmark is seldom believed to have taken part in it. This study will examine the role of crusading in late medieval and early modern Denmark from about 1400 to 1650. Judging from the treatment it has received within international and in particular Scandinavian historiography, it was not great. Even some contemporaries seem to have been of this opinion. At the imperial *Reichstag* that gathered in Regensburg in 1454 to discuss and plan a new great crusade against the Turks in the wake of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the papal legate Aeneas Sylvio Piccolomini—the later Pope Pius II (1458–1464)—lamented in a great anti-Turkish oration that “Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians live at the end of the world, and they are not capable of doing anything outside of their homes”.¹ It will be the purpose of the present study to argue that Piccolomini, the vigorous crusade enthusiast, was mistaken. Crusading had a tremendous impact on political and religious life in Scandinavia all through the Middle Ages, an impact which continued long after the Reformation ostensibly should have put an end to its viability within Protestant Denmark.

The present work thus has two main ambitions: first to investigate the role of the crusade, politically and ideologically, in Denmark from the founding of the Kalmar Union consisting of three Nordic kingdoms Denmark, Norway, and Sweden-Finland in 1397 (which lasted to 1523), to the Reformation in 1536; second, it will point to a number of ways in which crusade ideology lived on during the Reformation period and beyond, well into the seventeenth century, up to the death of King Christian IV in 1648.²

¹ Quoted from Niitema 1960, p. 228: “Dani, Sveti, Norrvegii in ultimus orbis oris situ, nihil est, quod extra domum queant”.

² In this work, Denmark means the lands of the Danish king, which in the late Middle Ages included parts of present-day southern Sweden and Schleswig and Holstein. With the formation of the Kalmar Union, Danish kings, nominally at least, also ruled in Sweden and Norway, including the lands tributary to the Norwegian king, Greenland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands. They are therefore included in the investigation until the final dissolution of the union in 1523. From then on Denmark means the twin-monarchy of Denmark and Norway, which lasted to 1814, as well as

The results, I believe, will make a substantial contribution to the understanding of crusading in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Geographically the largest realm of the fifteenth century, bordering on various heathen peoples and the schismatic Russians—against whom Scandinavian kings had conducted crusades for centuries—it would seem strange if the Scandinavian kingdoms had apparently escaped the message and impact of the crusade found in the rest of Europe in the fifteenth century—or even that they were untouched by the political struggles to organize a new joint Christian crusade against the Turks. Some initial steps have been taken towards an investigation of these questions. They suggest that crusading did in fact play an important role, not only for the international politics of the Danish kings of the Kalmar Union, but also for the internal relationships between the different countries of the union, especially Denmark and Sweden. To my knowledge no research has been carried out on how the crusading ideology lived on in post-Reformation Denmark.³ This is regrettable since Danish evidence, Denmark being one of the leading Protestant kingdoms until the defeat in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) in 1626–29—when Sweden took over that role—might represent an important contribution to a more general debate on the afterlife of the crusade.

Crusade Historiography in Denmark

Crusades have been written about in Denmark since the twelfth century. The Danish word for crusade—*korstog*—was, however, first used in the eighteenth century. It probably entered the Danish language as a direct translation of the German *Kreuzzug*, which was used from the early eighteenth century to describe the expeditions to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴ The first modern historical

Holstein, and the “eastern frontier” in the Baltic—despite continued minor Danish interests in the area—will not be treated further.

³ Cf. J. M. Jensen 2004a and 2004d.

⁴ Hölzle 1980, 1:31–34. According to Hölzle it replaced the term *Kreutz-fahrt*, which had late-medieval origins in the form of *kriuze vart* and similar variations that, however, appeared late and was seldom used. In the *Universal Lexicon* [64 vols. (Halle and Leipzig)] published in Germany between 1732 and 1750, the two forms were, however, still used interchangeably “Creutz-Fahrten oder Creutz-Züge” to describe the military expeditions of the “Abendländischen Christen nach dem gelobten Lande im 11 und 12 seculo”, 6:1627–36 and 58:1214: “Zug, (Creutz-) siehe Creutz-Fahrten”. Cf. the title of Adam

work to deal with Denmark's participation in the crusades was Erich Pontoppidan's *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam* published in three volumes in 1740–41. "Denmark" naturally included Norway at the time. It is basically a compilation of sources and secondary works bearing upon the deeds of the Danes and Norwegians all over the world throughout recorded history. The first chapter deals with Danes in the Orient, divided into three groups: pilgrims,⁵ merchants,⁶ and warriors ("Bellatores Danici & Norvagici in Orienti clari"), and included a section on those who took part in the "Cruciatis expeditionibus".⁷ In accordance with the plan and scope of his work, Pontoppidan also treated Spain and the Baltic, now considered important crusade frontiers. His main sources were the Danish chronicle of Arild Huitfeldt published in the years around 1600, and the Latin history of Denmark written by Johannes Pontanus (1571–1639), commissioned by the Danish government and published in 1631,⁸ from which he gives lengthy quotations. Because Huitfeldt and Pontanus both used the term *cruciata* of the wars in the Baltic and in Spain, Pontoppidan accordingly—by virtue of quoting them—presented the Danish expansion in the Baltic as crusades.⁹

Despite being very learned, Pontoppidan's work had the character of a compilation. But interest in the study of the crusades in Denmark was kindled. In his great *History of Denmark*, Peter Frederik Suhm did in fact list most of the chronicles that mentioned Danish participation in the crusades, without, however, treating them directly.¹⁰ In 1769 and 1770, the Royal Academy of Sciences in Copenhagen offered a medal for the best essay to investigate the question, "In what way did the so-called crusades ("Kryds-Toge") to the Holy Land influence

Rechenberg's doctoral dissertation published in 1694: *De Prima Expeditione Cruciata, Von Der Ersten Kreutzfahrt*: Rechenberg 1694.

⁵ Pontoppidan 1740–41, 1:5–20 (Pilgrims). In his work on the pilgrimages of the Northern peoples to "Greece", which included the Holy Land, the Swedish linguist and professor at Uppsala University Johan Ihre (1707–1780) added the Swedes to the picture and also used the runic inscriptions as sources, Ihre 1758.

⁶ Pontoppidan 1740–41, 1:55–75. This group contained some sixteenth and seventeenth century examples.

⁷ Pontoppidan 1740–41, 1:20–55.

⁸ Arild Huitfeldt: DRK; Johannes Isaksen Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum Historia*. For Pontanus and the relationship between the works of Huitfeldt and Pontanus, cf. Skovgaard-Petersen 2002. For Huitfeldt, cf. also Rørdam 1896.

⁹ Pontoppidan 1740–41, 3:388 ff.

¹⁰ Suhm 1782–1828, 5:26–30, 39–42. Vol. 5 was published in 1792.

European society especially the Nordic societies, their trade, warfare, art, knowledge and customs". The Academy actually received an essay but nothing further is known of it other than it was not awarded a prize. On the suggestion of Suhm, the question was posed again in 1796 with a slightly different wording this time focusing on the influence of the crusades ("Korstoge") to the Holy Land on the inhabitants of Denmark, Norway, and Holstein, and this time two answers were submitted to the Academy.¹¹ In June 1797, Friedrich Schüz from Gotha handed in his essay simply called *Welchen Einfluss hatten die Kreuzzüge auf die Sitten Kenntnisse und Denkungsart der Dänen und Norweger?*. It carried the motto: "Kreuzzüge waren die Früchte der Finsterniss und der Saame der Aufklärung", which really says it all. According to Schüz, Danes and Norwegians did not take part in the crusades in great numbers, and accordingly their influence was very limited or indirect. It was apparently never published but is still preserved in the Academy's archive.¹² The other answer came from Friedrich Münter in a short work called *Allgemeine Bemerkungen über die Theilnahme der nordischen Völker an den Kreuzzügen, und deren Wirkungen auf die Kultur den Nordens* published in 1798 in his *Vermischte Beyträge zur Kirchengeschichte*. "It would be a great gain for the history of the North", Münter wrote, "to have this question answered satisfactorily, even though one has to admit that the crusades did not immediately have the same impact in the Nordic countries as in the rest of Europe".¹³ Yet he considered it impossible that events as significant as the crusades should not have had an impact in Scandinavia. He proved that people from all over Scandinavia participated in great numbers, even from Iceland, but did not find reason to change the observation that the crusades did not have the same influence in the North as in southern Europe. Apparently, neither essay was rewarded with a price. Münter's work, however, signalled the beginning of the scientific approach to the study of the crusade in Denmark and a "golden age" of Danish crusade research that lasted until 1864.

¹¹ Cf. the papers preserved in the archive of the Academy: Specialarkiv. Prisoppgaver, 1768–69; 1770–74 [it was decided not to award the prize on 7 August 1770], 1795–96 and Lomholt 1942–73, 3:454–55, 469; Molbech 1843, pp. 560, 568.

¹² Specialarkiv. Prisbesvarelser. Opgaver udsat 1796–1805, no. 135; Lomholt 1942–73, 5:141. Cf. the protocol of the Academy for 2 February 1798, where the answer was considered "not of such quality" to be rewarded with a medal.

¹³ Münter 1798, pp. 355–56. Münter's work was first in published in 1796 in Danish in the monthly journal *Minerva* before being published in German in an expanded and corrected version.

The Golden Age

The first half of the nineteenth century also witnessed the birth of modern historiography on the crusades with the publication of Heinrich von Sybel's *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* in 1841.¹⁴ The strict source criticism deployed in Sybel's work did not perhaps characterize the early studies of this period on Denmark and the crusades. It was a time when Scandinavian historians could actually compete in placing their respective countries on the map of crusading nations. In 1813, the Danish historian Vedel Simonsen published a study on Danish participation in the crusades and pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Contrary to Münter, he saw comprehensive consequences from Danish participation in the crusades for Danish society and culture: on "the political organization of the state", science and military technology, art and music, and finally on how and what people ate. The crusades "opened up the world to Denmark". The contact served "as a powerful means to transplant knowledge and culture...and to minimize the distance that different religions, nationalities, and the inequalities between the classes have created between humans, and in this way prepared humanity for its great purpose: Enlightenment and cosmopolitanism".¹⁵ It was combined with a strong national sentiment, at the same time. Danish participation in the crusades spread the "Danish national-honour" to the far corners of the world. He quote Suhm to the effect that the proverb "he strikes like a Dane" was current for a long time in the Holy Land to refer to a man who fought extraordinarily hard and bravely in battle.¹⁶

This prompted the Swedish historian Ebbe Samuel Bring to begin work on a new book, published in 1827, on the Scandinavian participation in the pilgrimages and crusades to the Holy Land, simply because Bring believed—with some justification—that Vedel Simonsen had neglected Swedish participation in the crusades. Swedes participated in the crusades to the Holy Land right from the beginning, Bring argued, although his only 'definite and undeniable evidence' of this was found in the *Chronica novella* of Herman Korner, written around 1400.¹⁷

¹⁴ Sybel 1841; Sybel 1881. According to his preface, Sybel had participated in a course on the sources of the First Crusade in 1837 taught by the famous German historian Leopold von Ranke. Cf. Tyerman 1998, p. 119; Edgington 1997, p. 55.

¹⁵ V. Simonsen 1813, pp. 177–242.

¹⁶ V. Simonsen 1813, pp. 241–42; Suhm 1782–1828, 3:487.

¹⁷ Bring 1827. Münter did treat Sweden briefly, although he cited no evidence for Swedish participation before the Third Crusade, Münter 1798, pp. 370–73.

In general it can be said that the historians of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were very aware of the importance of the crusade—including even late-medieval crusading.¹⁸ Simonsen spoke of “the Wendish expeditions [in the twelfth century, JMJ] that were also rightly labelled crusades”, and he continued his investigation to include Danish pilgrims to the Holy Land in the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.¹⁹ Bring too—probably not wishing to concede primacy to Denmark on that point either—commented on pilgrims to the Holy Land from Sweden from 1291 to the sixteenth century. Although the reference was very brief and consisted merely of a list of names, it bears witness to the fact that the history of the crusades included the Late Middle Ages.

In 1819, the historian and librarian of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, Erich Christian Werlauff, published a study entitled *The Negotiations concerning the Participation of the Nordic Kingdoms in the Crusades against the Turks* and their influence upon the political situation in Scandinavia during the reign of King Christian I (1448–81).²⁰ He considered the international crusade negotiations to be political statements of great importance, although he believed that it would have been a great embarrassment to Christian I if the plans for the crusade discussed in 1457, to which Christian I estimated he could contribute 200.000 men (see chapter 1), had won general agreement. The failure of the crusade negotiations to result in concrete action, however, should rather be blamed on “the general sentiment of the time” than on Christian I.²¹ Werlauff was very perceptive of the crusades and their influence on Danish society. In 1836–37 he published a study of the Danish expeditions to the Iberian Peninsula from the migration period to the Late Middle Ages. From the twelfth century, according to Werlauff, these expeditions were clearly considered to be proper crusades and he did take some pride in the exploits of the Danish and Norwegian fleets in the peninsular on their way to Holy Land. The contacts established created the dynastic connections between Portugal and Denmark at

¹⁸ Cf. for instance the works of Münter, Suhm, Werlauff, Pontoppidan cited in the bibliography and chapter 4 below for a concrete example in the history of the Danish orders of chivalry.

¹⁹ V. Simonsen 1813, pp. 3, 151–77.

²⁰ *Om Forhandlingerne i Anledning af de nordiske Rigers Deeltagelse i Tyrkekrigen*, in Werlauff 1819, pp. 121–51.

²¹ Werlauff 1819, pp. 122–23, 134–35. See below chapter 1.

the turn of the thirteenth century. They also resulted in the import of foreign products especially wine, weapons, and precious metals. The geographical knowledge of the northerners he also believed to have been greatly enhanced by both the military expeditions and the pilgrimages to Compostella that continued into the early sixteenth century.²²

In 1864, the historian and priest Holger F. Rørdam investigated the mission of the papal legate Raymond Peraudi to the Nordic kingdoms between 1488 and 1505 to preach and collect funds for the crusade. The study was published in the journal newly founded by Rørdam for the diocese of Schleswig, and it was a sharp criticism of the Catholic institution of indulgence. “When the interest in the crusades waned in the Late Middle Ages, the popes tried to bring it back to life by artificial means and to fill their coffers [through legates who proclaimed indulgences to those who took the cross or contributed with money]”, is how he introduced the study of Peraudi’s mission.²³ “When the princes fully realized that this preaching only stemmed from a desire for money, they felt justified in taking their part of the prey”, he continued.²⁴ Although strongly critical of the practice, Rørdam did bring to light how both King Hans of Denmark (1481–1513) and Duke Frederik of Schleswig and Holstein supported the preaching of the crusade in Denmark, Schleswig, and Holstein at the turn of the sixteenth century in return for part of the money that was collected.

In 1864, Prussian-Austrian troops defeated the Danish army, and the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg on Denmark’s southern border became provinces of the Prussian monarchy. At one stroke, Denmark lost two fifths of its territory. The events had a tremendous impact on the writing of history in Denmark. Historians turned their attention towards national history, seldom looking beyond the borders of the new reduced Denmark for explanations or causes for Danish history, and they were highly influenced by a strong antimilitarist tendency, which of course meant that the crusades were at best at the fringe of historical interest or rejected outright as “despicable charades” as late

²² Werlauff 1836–37. Werlauff’s many interesting works also included an annotated edition of the mid-twelfth century itinerary from the north coast of Iceland through Denmark and Europe to Jerusalem by the Icelandic benedictine abbot Nikulás of Munkaþverá, Werlauff 1821. Cf. J. M. Jensen 2004e.

²³ Rørdam 1864, p. 105.

²⁴ Rørdam 1864, pp. 108–9.

as the 1960s.²⁵ Rørdam's article became the last on the history of the crusades in Denmark for a long time. It is symbolic that it appeared in a Danish journal founded by Rørdam and published in Schleswig, which was abandoned when Schleswig was overtaken by superior Prussian troops. It marked the end of the "golden age" of crusade research in Denmark.

The events of 1864 and the consequences for the writing of history in Denmark probably explain why the crowning achievement of the period went largely unnoticed in Denmark. In 1865, the French count Paul Riant published his doctoral dissertation *Expéditions et pèlerinages Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades*. The same year, he was accepted as a member of the *Kungliga Vitterhetsakademien* in Sweden, and two years later he was unanimously accepted as a non fee-paying member by the *Kongelige nordiske Oldskriftselskab* in Copenhagen in recognition of his services to Nordic history. His work appeared in Danish translation in 1868.²⁶ A short notice was published at the 1884 meeting of the *Kongelige nordiske Oldskriftselskab* concerning the northerners in the Holy Land, written by Riant.²⁷ It was used quite extensively by the priest A. Fabricius in his studies on the Danish crusades to the Iberian Peninsula published in 1882 and 1900 replacing the pioneering study of Werlauff.²⁸ Otherwise, Riant's work has been largely neglected by Danish medieval historians. Riant's dissertation was only to be the first step towards a complete history of the Scandinavian involvement in the crusades. Subsequent studies of the Danish crusades in the Baltic and to the rest of the world, including Africa and Asia, were to follow.²⁹ Unfortunately, Riant did not manage this before his death in 1888, only 52 years old. He had by then manifested himself as one of the leading crusade historians, among other things founding the *Société de*

²⁵ Cf. J. M. Jensen 2000, pp. 285–87; K. V. Jensen 2004, pp. 246–52; Lind 2005. One exception ought to be mentioned here. One of the most influential characters of Danish intellectual life from the nineteenth century until today, the poet, priest, author, and historian N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872) believed that the crusades were the only good thing to have come out of the Middle Ages. Not because they said anything positive on behalf of the popes, but because they had awakened popular Christianity to perform great and good deeds by fighting Islam! Cf. J. B. Simonsen 2004. Grundtvig's view was emphasised in the popular history of the crusades by Brun 1852, pp. 119–20.

²⁶ Riant 1865; Riant 1868.

²⁷ For this and the following on Riant, see Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 11–14.

²⁸ A. Fabricius 1882 and 1900.

²⁹ Cf. the foreword to the Danish translation, Riant 1868, pp. vii–viii.

l'Orient Latin in 1875.³⁰ Nearly 140 years passed before a study dedicated explicitly to the history of Denmark and the Baltic Crusades—*Danske korstog—Krig og mission i Østersøen*—appeared in 2004.³¹

New Trends

After “the golden age”, Danish historians tended to view crusading ideology as merely a pretext, concealing economic and political motives. This opinion has been challenged recently, however. Instead, it has been stressed that crusading ideology was an integral part of the royal ideology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially during the reigns of King Valdemar I (1157–1182) and his two sons Knud VI (1182–1202) and Valdemar II (1202–46), with the creation of a national crusader-saint, Knud Lavard, who was the father of Valdemar I.³² Continuous crusades against the heathens along the Baltic coasts, which involved all of the Danish population through the military organization of the country into districts which had to provide ships and men for the royal forces, resulted in a Danish Baltic empire in competition with other princes in the area such as Henry the Lion, whose princely ideology also centred on crusade ideology as presented in literature, art, and in official declarations.³³ Crusade ideology in Denmark was expressed in skaldic poetry and in literature; for instance the Latin chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus, the vernacular sagas and translations of European “crusade classics” like the *Chanson de Roland*.³⁴ Crusade institutions such

³⁰ Cf. also Sybel's comment in Sybel 1881, p. v.

³¹ Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004.

³² Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004; K. V. Jensen 2004a; K. V. Jensen 2003; K. V. Jensen 2001; J. M. Jensen 2000; J. M. Jensen 2003a; J. M. Jensen 2004c; C. S. Jensen 2002; T. K. Nielsen 2001; *Krig, Korstog og Kolonisering*; Jensen, Jensen & Lind 2001; Nyberg 1976, 1983, 1985, 1998. Riis 1977 stressed the importance of the crusade in the creation of the Danish royal ideology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but seems more reluctant to use the word in his latest work on the Danish Baltic empire, cf. Riis 2003.

³³ On Henry the Lion, cf. J. M. Jensen 2003a with further references.

³⁴ J. M. Jensen 2004c, pp. 289–91; J. M. Jensen 2006; K. V. Jensen 2002a, esp. pp. 180–86; K. V. Jensen 2003; Bandlien 2005a, pp. 259–348; Bandlien 2005b; Bandlien 2006. On the translations of the *Song of Roland*, cf. Halvorsen 1959, pp. 1–31. Henry the Lion had the *Song of Roland* translated into Middle High German as part of his ideological propaganda, which intended to present his wars against the Wends as crusades and present him as a new David and Charlemagne, the two characters normally associated with the Roman emperor. Henry thus used crusade ideology in his ambitions for the imperial title of Frederic Barbarossa, who embarked on a similar programme, which included canonizing Charlemagne in his capacity as a champion of the faith, cf. J. M. Jensen 2003a.

as lay religious confraternities formed with the purpose of fighting the infidels in return for spiritual merit, were created as on the other European crusade frontiers, and played a central role in the Danish expansion.³⁵ The royal crusade ideology was expressed, for instance, in the hagiography and liturgy of St Knud; coins were struck depicting Valdemar I with a cross-banner and the palm frond—the symbol of the Jerusalem pilgrimage; and it was expressed in art.³⁶ The Knights of Saint John came to Denmark around 1170 and were granted a tax on every household in Denmark.³⁷ Such focus on crusade ideology in an effort to strengthen royal power is seen all over Europe during this period. The impact of the programme must have been enormous, and it suggests that crusade ideology was much more than simply an ideological device used to meet political ends, touching both the core of Danish royal ideology and some of the fundamental ideals of the just medieval ruler and the virtues of the Christian knight.

Crusades to the Holy Land were preached as well as those against the heathens living in the Baltic area. We can follow this in more detail in the wake of the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187. Danish and Norwegian fleets set sail for the Holy Land, where many found martyrdom before the walls of Acre before the city fell to the crusaders in 1191.³⁸ The great battle at Acre was depicted on murals in several Danish churches.³⁹ The preaching campaigns launched after 1187, which resulted in the Third Crusade (1188–1192), were supported in Denmark by wall-paintings picturing fighting warriors and by the church's demonstration of its approval of the holy war through consecrating banners and sending warriors to the East.⁴⁰ A special crusade liturgy developed after 1187—also in Scandinavia—providing clamors and prayers in support of the Holy Land, masses, processions etc. performed both in monasteries and during regular mass by the entire congregation made

³⁵ J. M. Jensen 2000, pp. 314–23; J. M. Jensen 2004c, pp. 228–35; K. V. Jensen 2002b.

³⁶ J. M. Jensen 2003a; K. V. Jensen 2004, p. 270; K. V. Jensen 2006; Markus 2003, esp. pp. 194–200; Markus 1998; Kolstrup 2002. For the latter see, however, the discussion in Gotfredsen 2003, pp. 304–5. Cf. Norn 1993, pp. 41–44.

³⁷ DD I/7:139–40 (no. 156).

³⁸ J. M. Jensen 2006; Skovgaard-Petersen 2001 with references to the sources.

³⁹ Söderström 1991.

⁴⁰ See below chapter 1: “Preaching the Crusades”; Gotfredsen 1983, pp. 97–99; Gotfredsen & Frederiksen 2003, pp. 231–44; Norn 1982, pp. 66–71. Cf. Hernfjäll 1992 for a Swedish example.

the crusade an inescapable reality in Denmark as in the rest of Europe in the high middle ages,⁴¹ not least in the form of the crusade taxes for the Holy Land imposed on the greatest landowner—the church—that were collected regularly in Denmark. The king often received a large part of these crusade taxes to conduct crusades against the enemies of the faith living on his own borders.⁴² This naturally all had an impact on the economic and social structures of the Danish society.

Despite these new fields of interest, late-medieval crusading has so far attracted very little attention in Scandinavia, particularly in Denmark.⁴³ In Sweden the situation is slightly different because of the crusade frontier with the Russians, although the crusade has in general, as in Denmark, been seen as an ideological smoke-screen for the ambition to expand the Swedish realm and gain control of the rich trading routes between east and west in the Baltic. Some, however, have argued for a different approach. In 1933, the Swedish theologian Gösta Kellerman acknowledged that the crusades of the Renaissance papacy against the Turks also had an impact in Scandinavia.⁴⁴ The crusades played an important role in his doctoral dissertation on the Swedish Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson, published two years later in 1935, in connection with his analysis of the political relationships between Sweden and its two neighbours, Denmark and Russia, and he concluded that the Swedish church wholeheartedly supported the crusades of the governor of the realm, Sten Sture, especially against the Russians. When full-scale war between Sweden and Russia erupted in 1495, contemporaries considered it a full-fledged crusade:

To us [in Kellerman's days], it is difficult to take the crusade preachers of the fifteenth century seriously. But the devotion that was put into it was

⁴¹ Linder 2003, p. 3; Cole 1993, pp. 106–41; Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 97–103.

⁴² K. V. Jensen 2004, p. 266.

⁴³ Although the interest in the crusade in the high middle ages is reflected in the chapter that deals with the period in the recently published *Dansk Udenrigspolitik Historie* (*The History of Danish Foreign Policy*), and the volumes of *Gyldendals og Politikens Danmarkshistorie* [*History of Denmark*] dealing with the high middle ages [vols. 4–5, covering the years 1050–1400], the word disappears from both text and index in later volumes even in the second edition (it is mentioned once or perhaps twice in the text of Dahlerup 2003 [vol. 6, covering the fifteenth century], but is not to be found in the index). It is not mentioned with a single word in the great volume on the Danish nobility 1350–1660 that appeared in 2001: *Riget, magten og æren*.

⁴⁴ Kellerman 1933, esp. pp. 24–31.

probably real and should not be considered simply an empty resonance. The deeds of Pius II prove that even in the secularised humanist circles, crusade romanticism could be combined with real vigour.⁴⁵

The Swedish ecclesiastics who studied in Rome—and in other places—were heavily influenced by this “crusade romanticism”, and seem to have injected the same energy in directing it against the Russians as did Pius II against the Turks. Kellerman’s approach does not appear to have won general approval even if Dick Harrison recently admitted in a very brief discussion towards the end of his book on Scandinavia and the crusades that the crusade rethoric and propaganda of the 1490s should be considered genuine.⁴⁶

In 2001, the Swedish historian Thomas Lindkvist argued that the Russian war of 1495–97 was the last Swedish crusade, but it was only the second campaign to be characterized as such since 1300. The first was the crusade of King Magnus II Eriksson against the heathen Karelians and the Russians in 1348–50.⁴⁷ Despite admitting that the crusade played a role in the formation of the Swedish realm in the high middle ages, he declared that “Sweden was never a great crusading nation” and did not contribute in any substantial way to the international crusades. Jacob Sundberg has pointed out, however, that the Nordic countries of the Kalmar Union naturally formed part of the international crusade plans of the fifteenth century.⁴⁸ This fact has been appreciated by Danish historians recently.

The Danish historian Kurt Villads Jensen suggested in a recent article that crusading continued to have a great influence upon Danish society after 1291 and down to the Reformation in 1536.⁴⁹ First, he pointed out that crusades were preached and money collected for the crusade all through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Second, he argued that Denmark participated directly in the crusades in at least two ways: first and foremost militarily in the Baltic in cooperation with the Teutonic Order and diplomatically by supporting international crusade plans. He further believed that crusade taxation and crusade politics created important political alliances, and that crusades played a prominent part

⁴⁵ Kellerman 1935, pp. 166–68 and *passim*.

⁴⁶ Harrison 2005, pp. 492–502.

⁴⁷ Lindkvist 2001, pp. 124–28. Cf. John H. Lind’s comments to Lindkvist’s view of the crusades “in and out of Finland” in Lind 2005, pp. 270–78.

⁴⁸ Sundberg 2002.

⁴⁹ K. V. Jensen 2000a.

in Denmark's involvement in international politics. He suggested that a more thorough investigation of the Danish sources from this perspective would be worthwhile. So far no one has taken up the challenge. The present study will further investigate the importance of these commitments in relation to the political situation in Scandinavia.

In a final chapter on the dissolution of the Danish Baltic empire from 1346, when Valdemar IV sold the Danish fief of Estonia to the Teutonic Knights, to the Reformation in 1536, the authors of *Danske korstog*—one of them being Kurt Villads Jensen—briefly sketched the continued importance of the crusade against the Turks also for the political situation in the Baltic and the relationship especially between Denmark and Sweden in the period. They argued that the last Danish crusade—even though it never received papal recognition as such—was the struggle of King Christian II (1513–23) to regain Sweden for the Danish crown as part of the Kalmar Union, when he managed to defeat the Swedish governor of the realm Sten Sture through a series of battles in 1520, after having him declared a heretic. With the Lutheran Reformation in 1536, however, the crusades came to an end because the pope's right to wage war was no longer acknowledged, and there was no room for the crusade indulgence within the Protestant confession—an argument put forward by Kurt Villads Jensen on several other occasions.⁵⁰

The changes in Danish historiography—especially since the same thing has appeared in several different fields like art, archaeology, history etc. simultaneously—cannot be ascribed solely to new impulses from international crusade historiography.⁵¹ It is, however, from these changes that the present study has received its inspiration, and a presentation of the debate will serve as an introduction to the theoretical approach of this work.

International Crusade Historiography

International crusade historiography has undergone two major historical revisions in recent years, which form the background for this investigation. The first is a change in the definition of the concept of

⁵⁰ Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 323–52; K. V. Jensen 2000a, p. 58; K. V. Jensen 2002c, p. 58.

⁵¹ Cf. also K. V. Jensen 2004, pp. 247–49.

crusade. The second is a tendency to take crusade ideology seriously, rather than simply dismissing it as a smoke-screen to obscure worldly ambitions.

Whereas there can be little doubt that the First Crusade was initiated by Pope Urban II at the council of Clermont in 1095—although he probably did not plan to create a crusade movement that would wage war against heathens and infidels for centuries—it is much less obvious when crusading can be said to have ceased as a historical phenomenon. Traditionally, historians have claimed that the crusades came to an end with the fall of Acre in 1291, because only expeditions which had the liberation or defending of the Holy Land as their goal should be considered true crusades.⁵² It is, however, obvious that contemporaries did not share this conviction—not even Urban II, who believed that “it is no virtue to rescue Christians from the Saracens in one place only to expose them to the tyranny and oppression of the Saracens in another” and therefore ordered a group of Spanish knights on their way to Jerusalem to “fulfil their vows” by fighting for the church in Spain instead.⁵³ It cannot be denied that Jerusalem was central to the First Crusade, but the crusaders did not earn spiritual merit because they went to Jerusalem, rather because war itself was a substitute for penance otherwise imposed for sin.⁵⁴ This of course meant that the war would be equally meritorious if fought in Spain, the Baltic, in France, or even in Greenland as in the Holy Land. Although some modern historians still cling to the traditional definition of expeditions launched with the intention of defending or recovering the Holy Land, it has generally been replaced by a much broader chronological and geographical concept of crusade—called the pluralist definition—which sees papal leadership and the crusade indulgence as the fundamental elements in identifying expeditions as crusades, for instance as expressed by the English crusade historian Norman Housley:

[Crusades were] wars proclaimed or supported by the papacy, for which crusade indulgences and privileges were publicized and preached, and whose combatants included men wearing the crusader’s cross and fulfilling vows of crusade.⁵⁵

⁵² Mayer 1990.

⁵³ J. M. Jensen 2003b, pp. 121–22.

⁵⁴ J. M. Jensen 2003b.

⁵⁵ Housley 1992, p. 2. The pluralist approach was first introduced by Jonathan Riley-Smith in 1977 in a small book that has revolutionized crusade studies entitled

From the pluralist perspective, the history of the crusades came to an end with the Reformation in the Protestant countries as argued for instance by Kurt Villads Jensen. Housley even speaks of the crusade's "Extinction in the North—Survival in the South" in the sixteenth century.⁵⁶

It has, of course, long been realized that the crusades did not come to an end with the fall of Acre in 1291,⁵⁷ but that this can be stated with certainty is mainly due to the work of Kenneth M. Setton and Norman Housley. Kenneth Setton provides an abundance of material in his monumental *The Papacy and the Levant* for the political importance of the crusade against the Turks from 1204 until the battle of Lepanto in 1571, when the fleet of a Christian holy league defeated a greatly superior Turkish fleet.⁵⁸ With the centre of perspective moved from Rome and Venice to Vienna, he has continued his archival studies on the war against the Turks to include the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ From Setton's perspective, Scandinavia only figures marginally, but individual pieces of evidence can be found which appear to have been overlooked even by Scandinavian historians. It is, however, the work of Norman Housley that has proved the great importance of crusading on all the frontiers of Latin Christendom: against the Turks, in Spain, during the "age of discovery" that took crusading into Africa and "the New World", and in the Baltic, with wide consequences for European society, politically and socially.⁶⁰ Despite paying a good deal of attention to the Baltic crusades, Housley views them mostly from the perspective of the Teutonic Knights, although the crusades of Magnus Eriksson in the middle of the fourteenth century are mentioned.⁶¹ This is also true of Eric Christiansen's solid work on the Baltic crusades as well as the recent study of John France on the expansion of Catholic Christendom.⁶² Scandinavia figures more prominently in the collection of

What Were the Crusades?, which has recently appeared in a third updated edition, Riley-Smith, 1977, 1992, 2003.

⁵⁶ Housley 1995, p. 286. In his book on the Northern Wars 1558–1721, Robert I. Frost makes the crusades in the North come to a sad end in 1560, and they are therefore not discussed further, Frost 2000, p. 1.

⁵⁷ See for instance the works on the crusade in the fourteenth century Delaville le Roulx 1886; Atiya 1934; Atiya 1965.

⁵⁸ Setton 1976–84.

⁵⁹ Setton 1991.

⁶⁰ Housley 1992.

⁶¹ Housley 1992, pp. 322–75.

⁶² Christiansen 1997; France 2005.

articles edited by Alan V. Murray, dealing with the Baltic crusades from 1150 to 1500, but as in the other works cited, Scandinavia virtually disappears from view in the fifteenth century.⁶³ Even though crusading in the fifteenth century has received a great deal of attention lately, with focus on a number of frontier regions like Poland and Hungary,⁶⁴ Scandinavia has thus been largely ignored. The present work will try to fill this gap.

Although the pluralist definition has taken over the field, the debate has not yet ceased. Even the pluralist definition does not cover all aspects of crusading.⁶⁵ Recently, the debate has taken a different turn and it has increasingly considered whether the definitions given by modern historians are at all compatible with the medieval phenomenon: “The crusade cannot be adequately defined in its own terms because it only existed in relation to the dictates of its shifting western context”, as the English historian Christopher J. Tyerman has argued.⁶⁶ Or as put more simply by both Kenneth M. Setton and Christopher Tyerman: “crusade meant different things to different peoples at different times”.⁶⁷ It has become apparent that although the religious and political situation made a common Christian crusade against the enemies of Christendom or to recover the Holy Land more and more unlikely, the crusade and its ideals continued to have a profound influence on both sides of the confessional divide in sixteenth century Europe. In the early sixteenth century it was argued that it was the heresy of the pope that stood in the way of successful campaigns against the Turks. Although the Lutheran reformers forcefully argued against the crusade indulgence from 1517, simultaneously they strongly advocated a war against the Turks. Despite being conducted by the secular authority, a number of the essential characteristics of the medieval crusade ideology remained: it was considered God’s war, and the soldiers were seen as performing the will of God and would achieve martyrdom as their reward for fighting for the true faith. Crusade history and the example set by the crusaders could be used to inflame young Protestants to fight in the wars of religion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as will

⁶³ *Crusade and Conversion*.

⁶⁴ *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century*. I am grateful to Norman Housley for sending me a copy of this interesting collection of articles!

⁶⁵ Cf. the recent review of the debate in Housley 2006, pp. 1–23.

⁶⁶ Tyerman 1998, p. 5. Cf. Tyerman 1995.

⁶⁷ Setton 1976–84, 2:2; Tyerman 1988, p. 1.

become apparent in chapter 3 and 4 below. In the seventeenth century, “the crusade was employed to support a sense of national identity or pride explicitly derived from the pre-Reformation past and deliberately non-confessional”, as Christopher Tyerman has written.⁶⁸ It will be the purpose of the present study to investigate to what extent this also was the case in Denmark.

The deconstruction of the historical concept of crusade does not mean that people in the Middle Ages at any given time did not know what a crusade was, but rather that it is not possible to create a matrix of crusade that applies to the whole crusading period. It is obvious that the call to arms against the infidels Urban II made in 1095 was believed to be the beginning of something new, and that it contained institutional characteristics in the form of new privileges granted to people who answered this call.⁶⁹ The bestowal of the cross also singled crusaders out from previous warriors of the faith. This should be ample reason for us, as historians, to use a word like crusade, but we must remember that when subsequent popes looked to the example and privileges set by Urban II, they did not simply copy the model, but used the model within the context of their own day. The crusade was not the same in the fifteenth century as in the twelfth. One of the problems faced when trying to give a definition of crusade is the lack of a single term for crusade used for the entire period. In the twelfth century, the most common terms were *expeditio*, *iter*, or *peregrinatio*. The participants often referred to themselves as *cruce signati* or *peregrini*, but the term *cruce signati* only became a technical term in canon law towards the end of the 12th century despite being used from the First Crusade to describe crusaders. Terms like *cruciata* for the expeditions only appeared later.⁷⁰

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the term *cruciata* is often used for instance in the papal bulls, but not exclusively. The crusade was

⁶⁸ Tyerman 1999. Cf. Pohlig 2002.

⁶⁹ J. M. Jensen 2003b, pp. 119–20 for references. I therefore cannot agree with Christopher Tyerman when he suggests that there were no crusades in the twelfth century (Tyerman 1995 and 1998), although I agree with his argument that the legal definitions that modern historians based their definition of crusade upon were only developed towards the end of the twelfth century. For the late middle ages, the problems are somewhat different and I therefore leave this particular aspect of the discussion out of this introduction.

⁷⁰ Brundage 1966; Markowski 1984. For a description of the words used to describe the First Crusade and the participants, see Riley-Smith 1982. The same conclusions apply to vernacular descriptions of ‘crusade’ or ‘crusading’, Hölzle 1980, 1:31–34; Trotter 1988, pp. 31–70.

often referred to as a *sancta expeditio* or a *passagium generale* to distinguish it from the *passagium particulare*, which was a limited military expedition with a concrete military goal often to spearhead a *passagium generale*.⁷¹ In 1436 Pope Eugenius IV (1431–47) wrote of the present and future Portuguese military conquests against the perfidious Saracens in North Africa, in “the war that is commonly (‘vulgariter’) called *cruciata*”. In 1452, Pope Nicholas V (1447–55) issued a crusade bull to Alfonso V of Portugal (1438–81), which gave him the right to subjugate by force “all Saracens, heathens, infidels, and enemies of Christ”, confiscate their possessions and convert them to the Christian faith. The pope granted a plenary indulgence to everybody who either took part personally, or contributed with arms or other kinds of support.⁷² Money contributions to the crusade in return for the indulgence became the predominant way of supporting the crusade in the fifteenth century, although people still took the cross and went with armed retinues, bearing witness to a genuine desire among the populace to fight the infidels.⁷³

Crusades were for everybody and directed against all enemies of the faith, against heretics within Christendom, against heathens and infidels, Saracens in Spain and the schismatic Russians—who could be described as both Saracens and heretics—in the north-east. But the greatest danger, especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, came from the Turks who during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries pushed into central Europe, reaching as far as Vienna in 1529. Norman Housley has identified three kinds of Turks. First, the external Turks, who of course were the Ottomans, but the term could also be used to denounce a number of external enemies of Christendom who were not ethnic Turks. Second, the internal Turks, who were those Christians worse than the Turks, which in Scandinavia often meant the Swedes. Third, the interior Turk, which symbolized the vices and sins of the Christians, that had to be overcome in order to defeat the external Turks.⁷⁴ In Scandinavia, the crusade was fought against all three kinds of Turks, as will become apparent in chapters 1 and 2.

⁷¹ Cf. Schein 1991; Thier 1973, esp. pp. 77–106.

⁷² *Bullarium patronatus Portugalie*, 1:19, 22–23.

⁷³ For instance Gérard Deschamps from the diocese of Liège, who during the pontificate of Calixtus III (1455–58) gathered 300 men on foot and led them to Rome in order to go to Greece. He later formed a *Societas Jesus* with the purpose of recruiting crusaders in Burgundy, Lorraine, Savoy, and Liège, which was approved by Pope Pius II in 1459, Paviot 2004, p. 79.

⁷⁴ Housley 2002, pp. 131–59.

In the Baltic, the crusades of the Teutonic Knights conducted twice a year in Prussia with participation of knights from all over Europe especially in the fourteenth century, were commonly referred to as *Reysen*, which was simply the German term for crusade at the time.⁷⁵ In Scandinavia, the term *cruciata* was often used, for instance in the letters of King Christian I (1448–81) concerning the crusade against the Turks (cf. below chapter 1). In 1496, the Swedish Archbishop Jakob Ulvsson wrote of the “Cruciata contra Ruthenos”, meaning the actual crusade bull declaring the war against the Russians a crusade. In another letter, written in Swedish, he spoke of the “red cross of the pope and the indulgence from punishment and guilt” referring to the same bull (cf. below chapter 1).⁷⁶ The bull probably never reached Sweden, but in Finland the armies went to war nevertheless on behalf of the holy cross, blessed by the Bishop of Åbo, against the enemies of the Christian name, and in Stockholm the banner of the national crusade of Saint Erik was consecrated at the statue of Saint George—the international crusade saint—before being sent with the army from Sweden to Finland against the Russians. The army included three men entrusted with the mission in the wake of the expedition. Was it not a crusade because the bull never reached Sweden? There can be no doubt that contemporaries considered the war against the Russians to be a crusade, before and after applying for the papal bull. It became an important political matter to have the crusade officially declared because of the current situation with Denmark, but it would seem pointless to insist that the war against the Russians—that had been pronounced crusades by the popes for centuries—should not be considered a crusade simply because the papal bull did not reach Sweden, even though the official bull in this particular case became a matter of political significance. It

⁷⁵ The terms were used interchangeably of the crusades against the Hussites in the first half of the fifteenth century. For instance in the Latin chronicle of Lawrence of Březova it is related how many people gathered outside of Prague in 1420 from many different parts of the world hoping to win plenary indulgences (“indulgencias a pena et culpa”) “propter cruciatam pape contra Boemos”, Lawrence of Březova, *Kronika Husitská*, pp. 383–84. Herman Korner’s chronicle describes the 1431 preparations for a “passagium generale et expeditionem universalem” against the heretics of Bohemia, Hermann Korner, *Chronica Novella*, p. 504. In the German additions to Korner’s chronicle it is described as “de drudden reyse jegen de Bohemeschen kettere”, *ibid.*, p. 549 and see for instance *Hancerecesse*, 8:283–85 (no. 427), at p. 284, where the crusades against the Hussites are called “reyse” against the “kettere” under “dem teken des hilgen krutzes”.

⁷⁶ HSH, 18:58, 42: “thet rode kors, oc thet afflat aff synd oc pina”.

was, of course, only the pope who had the power to grant a plenary crusade indulgence, but that does not mean that the pope had to be the instigator of an expedition in order to label it a crusade. Many crusade bulls were issued on application—also from Scandinavia.

The pluralist definition is thus useful for the late medieval period, given its emphasis on the pope and the indulgence, but the example of the 1495–97 crusade warns us as historians to demand all elements of the pluralist definition to be present in order to be able to speak of a crusade. As the great English crusade historian Jonathan Riley-Smith once pointed out, the definition does not “cover many other engagements” as for instance the military orders. Even the leagues formed to combat the Turks in the Late Middle Ages, although their being provided with papal authorization and with participants who had taken vows and been granted indulgences, were technically not crusades because they “lacked the supra-national ethos which was characteristic of all crusades”. Instead, he thought it best “to consider crusades as an expression of a crusading movement which underlay them and found other outlets as well”.⁷⁷ I believe this suggests that the term crusade can be used in two ways, first as a very specific term of a war according to the criteria given by the pluralists even in the very narrow sense of referring to the actual papal crusade bull, and second in a wider sense to describe the *Interpretationsrahmen* within which people viewed religious or holy war against ‘the enemies of Christendom’—which has recently been termed a ‘generalist’ approach.⁷⁸ It is in the second sense that crusade ideology can be seen to transgress confessional boundaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This approach to crusade studies has recently been called ‘pluralism with a touch of generalism’, which without solving all problems of definition—which were also experienced by contemporaries—seems to me to be the most rewarding way of approaching the sources.⁷⁹

At the same time, historians have begun to stress the political importance and sincerity of crusade plans and promises and to acknowledge religious values as real motivating forces both on the organizational level

⁷⁷ Riley-Smith 1996, pp. xxvii–xxx. Cf. the second edition Riley-Smith 2005, pp. xxxi–xxxiii.

⁷⁸ Hehl 1994. A similar approach was made by Becker 1964–1988, esp. 2:333 ff., 376–77, 401. For the term ‘generalist’, see Constable 2001, pp. 14–15; Housley 2006, pp. 5–13.

⁷⁹ Housley 2006, pp. 18–23. Cf. Riley-Smith 2005, pp. xxv, 308–9.

and on the part of individuals. Much work has been done on the high middle ages, but the shift is also apparent for the late middle ages, for instance in the case of Burgundy and the crusade plans of Philip the Good (1419–67), which, although Philip never saw his many plans and ambitions come true, are now considered expressions of a real crusading fervour and as political declarations of great importance.⁸⁰ The same applies to the Portuguese and Castilian expansion into the Atlantic and along the west coast of Africa in the fifteenth century, especially under the auspices of Henry the Navigator (1394–1460).⁸¹ Another reflection of this is the continuous popular response to crusade in the late medieval period despite the “general tendency to restrict actual crusading to professional fighters”.⁸² The historiography on the wars of religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has undergone a similar revision. Both the French Wars of Religion (1562–1629) and the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48) are now considered to be holy wars in the fullest sense, and the “actual violence perpetrated was regarded as sacred”.⁸³ It has been described as an effort at “putting religion back into the wars of religion”.⁸⁴ It is a reaction against the sharp distinction that previous historians have made between religious and political motivations. Instead, the ideological and religious values and language are taken seriously, rather than being dismissed as simple camouflage hiding complex causal processes. That does not mean, of course, that religious motivations should be considered as transplanting worldly ambitions or that wars were no longer fought for political, economic, or territorial reasons, but rather that wars could be both holy and serve political ends.⁸⁵ As Peter Partner has written: “There has never been pure religious purpose in holy war... There have been no holy wars fought for an exclusively idealistic motive, and the historiography that sets up purity of intention as a criterion for holy war is mistakenly moralistic in its methods”.⁸⁶ And as Norman Housley points out: “Indeed, the danger today lies much less in the offering of an exclusively religious interpretation of any war than of religious values being dismissed as camouflage or propaganda. No historian of the Crusades or the Wars

⁸⁰ Schulz 1976; Vaughn 1970; Müller 1993.

⁸¹ Fernández-Armesto 1987; Russel 2001. Cf. Housley 2002, pp. 9–10.

⁸² Housley 1992, pp. 376–420, esp. pp. 407–10 (quotation at p. 410).

⁸³ Housley 2002, pp. 1–13.

⁸⁴ Holt 1993.

⁸⁵ Cf. Holt 1995, pp. 2–3, 190–91.

⁸⁶ Partner 1997, p. 309.

of Religion now writing would exclude a whole range of political, economic, and social considerations from a study of those conflicts”.⁸⁷ This also applies to the present study.

But it was not unimportant how people legitimised or explained their actions. Konrad Repgen believed that the real motivations that shaped foreign policies in Reformation Europe can no longer be pinpointed. Instead, historians should pay attention to the ways monarchs sought to legitimise their decisions.⁸⁸ This approach will be used in what follows. Legitimation is not the equivalent of motivation, however, as stressed by Paul Douglas Lockhart.⁸⁹ It will become apparent that crusade ideology was central to the legitimisation of Danish politics in the Late Middle Ages. In itself it testifies to the importance of the crusade ideology when it was explicitly used to legitimise political actions, but it also probably reveals more than that. As Mack P. Holt wrote of French society during the French Wars of Religion, “there was a religious foundation to sixteenth-century French society that was shared by elites and popular classes alike”.⁹⁰ This holds true for medieval society as well, including Scandinavia.⁹¹ Analysing how widely diffused crusade ideology was in Danish society in the Late Middle Ages will emphasize the importance of the role of the crusade on the political level, instead of dismissing it simply as distasteful rhetoric and a smoke-screen for “real” political motives. Fighting for the faith in the Middle Ages and in the early modern period should probably be compared to fighting for peace, democracy, and human rights today, and claiming to undertake the role to defend the faith would have been as powerful a political declaration as the latter is today, because of the essential religious fabric of both the body politic and body social.

The Danish historian Hans Henrik Appel has argued that the apparent contradiction between the way the ordinary soldier or mercenary with wife and kids trying to make a living on the battlefields of the early modern period, viewed warfare, and the view of the nobles fighting for faith and honour, as evidenced by comparison of diaries written respectively by a common soldier, who was probably a Catholic, and a

⁸⁷ Housley 2002, p. 7.

⁸⁸ Repgen 1987.

⁸⁹ Lockhart 2004, pp. 6–7.

⁹⁰ Holt 1995, p. 3.

⁹¹ It has been one of the main conclusions within the historiography on crusade in the twelfth century, cf. esp. Bull 1993; Riley-Smith 1997.

Scottish noble in the service of King Christian IV (1588–1648), is not necessarily evidence that religious ideology mattered less to the common soldier.⁹² The Scottish noble was under the influence of chivalric ideals believing himself to be taking part in a religious war, but also stressing other ideals like honour. The common soldier on the other hand apparently cared more about pay than fighting for the faith, as he unproblematically shifted sides several times during the war.⁹³ But the difference is probably more apparent than real. Nobles, too, could fight on both sides in the religious conflict despite their confessional affinities because of their shared chivalrous ideals. And as Keith Moxey has argued, based upon visual representations from the sixteenth century, mercenaries copied chivalrous and noble ideals and customs.⁹⁴ There was a difference between the two groups, but there is probably no reason to doubt the real anti-Catholic sentiment within for instance Danish society at large, but that would of course look different from the perspective of a person on the actual battlefield trying to make a living and supporting wife and children. Authorities tried hard to regulate and discipline the moral conduct of their troops according to their religious convictions to secure God's assistance in battle, and it must have had an impact even on the common soldier because of the "essential religious fabric", although the message probably found different resonances.⁹⁵

In a new book, Paul Douglas Lockhart has analyzed the foreign policy of the Danish King Frederik II (1559–1588) from this perspective, claiming that "any effort to divorce the study of international politics and the making of foreign policy from their confessional background, at least in pre-Westphalian Europe [the Peace of Westphalia was settled in 1648, ending the Thirty Years' War, JMJ], is inherently a futile one".⁹⁶ From this perspective, he could show that confessional issues deeply influenced Danish foreign policy, especially from the 1570s. It opens up the perspective of analyzing the continuity of the crusade notion into the early modern period in Denmark, as argued by Christopher Tyerman for other parts of Europe, for example in England, where he even speaks of Protestant crusades towards the end of the

⁹² Appel 2002.

⁹³ Appel 2002, pp. 159–67.

⁹⁴ Moxey 1989.

⁹⁵ Appel 2002, pp. 167–68.

⁹⁶ Lockhart 2004, p. 7.

sixteenth century.⁹⁷ If a crusade is seen as a “holy war fought against those perceived to be external or internal foes of Christendom for the recovery of Christian property or in defense of the Church or Christian people”, as some crusade historians define it in its basic form,⁹⁸ Protestants might well claim to represent Christendom and their warfare a war against Antichrist and the Devil incarnate, identified with the Pope and the Turk respectively. Protestant crusades might sound like a contradiction in terms. Did Martin Luther not write: “If in my turn I were a soldier and saw in the battlefield a priests’ banner or cross, even if it were the very crucifix, I should want to run away as though the Devil were chasing me!”⁹⁹ Yet that was exactly what the Danish King Christian IV (1588–1648) did. He raised a banner of the cross in his army when he entered the Thirty Years’ War in 1625. His soldiers did run—but that had more to do with the Catholic armies of Tilly and Wallenstein than with Luther’s writings. As Norman Housley argues, the interesting question is if the continuity resided in “occasional direct borrowing or institutional resurrection”.¹⁰⁰ It is to be hoped that we will have come closer to an appreciation of the answer—at least for Denmark—by the end of this study.

Denmark in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period

The following is a short introduction to Danish history in the period 1400–1650.¹⁰¹

The Baltic empire created by Valdemar I (1157–82) and his two sons, Knud VI (1182–1202) and Valdemar II (1202–41), disintegrated in the wake of Valdemar II’s imprisonment by Count Heinrich of Schwerin and the subsequent defeat at the battle of Bornhöved in the 1220s. Denmark remained, however, an important player in the area even though the history of the Danish kingdom after the death

⁹⁷ Tyerman 1988, pp. 367–69; Tyerman 1999.

⁹⁸ Riley-Smith 1996, p. xxviii; Riley-Smith 2005, p. xxxi (leaves out the words “holy war”).

⁹⁹ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege wider die Türken*, p. 115.

¹⁰⁰ Housley 2002, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ Cf. in general: *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, Riis 1998, and K. J. V. Jespersen 2004 for introductions to the period in English. See in general: *Gyldendal og Politikens Danmarkshistorie*, vols. 5–8 and *Den danske Kirkes Historie*, vols. 2–4.

of Valdemar II in 1241 was marked not only by civil wars between his three sons, but also by the minorities of King Erik Klipping and King Erik Menved, and the great conflict between church and state represented by king and archbishop, which raged the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. The fourteenth century was an unruly period in the history of Denmark. The policies of the kings Erik VI Menved (1286–1319) and his brother Christopher II (1320–26 and 1330–32), although for a brief period almost renewing Denmark's role a crusader state at the beginning of the century, left Denmark to be pawned to the counts of Holstein, Gert and Johann. The political situation between the Scandinavian kingdoms in the fourteenth century was marked by conflict in various alliances with the other powers in the Baltic especially the Hanseatic Cities. In 1319 a personal union between Sweden and Norway was formed when the heir to the Norwegian crown, the three-year-old Magnus II Eriksson (1317–1374), was elected as king of Sweden. The former Danish province of Skåne was mortgaged to Count Johann, but in 1332 a union between Sweden and Skåne was formed, when Magnus was elected king of Skåne after supporting a rebellion against Holstein rule and after having redeemed the mortgage to Count Johann. In 1343 and 1344 it was agreed that King Magnus' two sons, Erik and his younger brother Håkon, should be kings of Sweden-Skåne and Norway respectively. Magnus Eriksson, however, functioned as king of Norway until 1355, when Håkon according to the agreement succeeded as Håkon VI (1355–1380) thus ending the personal union between Norway and Sweden.¹⁰² Denmark was without a king from 1332 until 1340, when Valdemar IV Atterdag (1340–1375) was elected king. During his reign, he worked strenuously to recover all of the former Danish lands and after several attempts, he managed to win back Skåne with military force in 1360. With his death in 1375, the male line of the royal family that had ruled Denmark for almost 300 years died out. His only daughter Margrethe was queen of Norway. Her 5-year old son Olaf was elected king of Denmark, and when her husband Håkon VI of Norway died in 1380, she became regent in both countries for her son. When, in 1387, Olaf died suddenly she was chosen as Queen of Denmark and the year later also of Norway. She adopted Bugislav of Pomerania—who was a grandchild of her elder

¹⁰² Cf. esp. A. E. Christensen 1980, pp. 11–95. For Erik Menved, cf. Lind 1996.

sister, Ingeborg, and thus a great-grandson of Valdemar IV—to take Olaf’s place. He received the Nordic name of Erik when he arrived in Denmark in 1389.¹⁰³ The same year the Swedish aristocratic council accepted Margrethe as ruler instead of the Swedish King Albrecht and in a decisive battle she defeated King Albrecht and took him prisoner. Erik was elected as king in 1396 over all three countries. The crown was placed on his head on Trinity Sunday in 1397 in the city of Kalmar, but Margrethe remained Queen until her death in 1412.¹⁰⁴

The three Nordic kingdoms of the union were to maintain their own laws and customs but be ruled by a common king. However, Erik’s rule was based on the document known as the “crowning document” according to which he exercised a personal monarchical rule and governed the three realms as a unity. Whereas Denmark and Sweden were hereditary kingdoms, kings in Norway had to be elected. In practise, however, it was difficult to set aside the claim of the closest relative of a deceased prince.¹⁰⁵ In the fifteenth century, there was a conflict between the national state councils, which were dominated by a few high-aristocratic families and the king. It was a conflict between the political principles of a monarchic *regimen regale* and an aristocratic *regimen politicum*. The aristocratic families considered themselves to be the real bearers of the national sovereignty, but it should also be underlined that the aristocracy did not constitute a homogeneous body for there was a political split within its ranks, both internally and externally—and these were easily exploited by the king.¹⁰⁶ Each king had to sign a coronation charter called *håndfæstning*, which stipulated the limits of his powers vis-à-vis the noble families.¹⁰⁷ The king tried to counter the influence of the noble families in the struggle for national power by nominating royal servants of the lesser nobility as bishops, who were by law members of the councils.¹⁰⁸ Even though the right

¹⁰³ Etting 2004, pp. 12–16, 54–65. Cf. Albrechtsen 1997; A. E. Christensen 1980. Cf. *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, esp. pp. 677–770; Etting 1998 for general outlines of the history of the union.

¹⁰⁴ Albrechtsen 1997, pp. 95–106; A. E. Christensen 1980, pp. 113–71.

¹⁰⁵ Dahlerup 2003, pp. 41–48.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. esp. Olesen 1980 and 1983; Enemark 1994b.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. also L. Jespersen 2000, pp. 45–47.

¹⁰⁸ H. Christensen 1983; Dahlerup 1971; Ingesman 2003, p. 465. In 1474, Christian I informed the pope that no bishop should be elected without his knowlegde and consent because they received a seat in the state council, APD, 4:35–37 (no. 2515), at p. 36; *Epistole Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 425, 433.

of the pope to appoint bishops had been generally accepted by the fourteenth century, Erik of Pomerania made the bishops present to the pope the claim that he possessed the right to nominate bishops in the Danish church in 1432. In 1458, King Christian I thanked the pope for acknowledging this right,¹⁰⁹ but only after a great conflict, which we shall return to in chapter 1. In the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth the nobles of the realm were the backbone of the military organization even though mercenaries were also used as in all other parts of Europe. The situation changed in the second half of the fifteenth century when increased conscription of peasants and townsmen, and the rising number of mostly German professional mercenaries. Furthermore, the noble dominance of war ceased and state power consequently grew thereby forcing the nobility into state service.¹¹⁰

In 1439 Erik of Pomerania was deposed by the aristocratic councils of the kingdoms. In 1440 Christopher of Bavaria elected as his successor in Denmark and over the next few years also in Sweden and Norway.¹¹¹ He died suddenly and childless in January 1448. In June Karl Knutsson, who came to Sweden from Finland with a strong army, was elected king of Sweden. In Denmark, Count Adolf of Holstein was offered the crown but he declined. Instead he suggested his nephew, Christian of Oldenburg. The latter was elected as king in Denmark in 1448 and crowned in 1449.¹¹² Christian I (1448–1481) succeeded to the kingship of Norway, which Karl Knutsson reluctantly acknowledged in 1450, despite having forced Archbishop Aslak Bolt of Trondheim to crown him. War broke out again in the winter of 1452 and 1453 and the political struggle continued until Christian managed to be crowned king of Sweden in 1457. In 1463, however, Karl Knutsson again became king of Sweden. At the death of Karl Knutsson in 1470, Christian I reclaimed Sweden. He led an army into Sweden, but Karl Knutsson's nephew Sten Sture defeated Christian at the Battle of Brunkebjerg in 1471, and not until 1497 did Christian's son, King Hans (1481–1513), manage to be crowned king of Sweden—and then only for a few years. In November 1520 King Hans' son, Christian II (1513–23), who

¹⁰⁹ *Akter rörande ärkebiskopsvalet i Uppsala 1432*, pp. 75–77, 118–20; DN, 17:1023–24 (no. 1058); Ingeman 2003, pp. 456–58.

¹¹⁰ Cf. the articles in *Riget, magten, æren*.

¹¹¹ Cf. *The Cambridge History of Medieval Scandinavia*, pp. 733–43.

¹¹² Cf. Olesen 1992; Albrechtsen 1997, pp. 201–4.

succeeded his father in 1513, was crowned as king of Sweden. During the banquet that followed, he arrested a large number of nobles and ecclesiastics, who with little ceremony were condemned as heretics by a panel headed by the Swedish archbishop Gustav Trolle. They were executed five days later in an event known alternatively as the blood-bath in Stockholm or the Stockholm Massacre. The executions resulted in the final break-up of the Kalmar Union with the election of Gustav Vasa, first as regent of Sweden in 1521 and then as king in 1523. Christian II was deposed in Denmark in 1522 and his paternal uncle the duke of Holstein elected king as Frederik I (1523–33). The year after, Christian II had to flee the country and went to the Netherlands with his wife. With the ascension of Gustav Vasa to the Swedish throne, the Union was finally declared dead, despite later Danish attempts to resuscitate it.¹¹³

During the great schism in the Western Church, contact virtually seized with the papacy until 1389 when the situation was normalised with Danish support for the Roman Pope Boniface IX. Margrethe supported the Roman popes until 1410 when she began supporting John XXIII elected in Pisa in 1410.¹¹⁴ In the first half of the fifteenth century, Denmark wholeheartedly supported the conciliar movement and acknowledged the Council of Basel to the bitter end despite having contacts with Rome.¹¹⁵ The connection to Rome was re-established in the first years of the reign of Christian I. Until then there had been a limited Scandinavian presence at the papal curia, but that changed in the second half of the fifteenth century, although it was not until the 1480s that a permanent Danish colony was established.¹¹⁶ After 1450 and until 1523 the pope was drawn in again and again into the political struggles between the different countries of the union, one consequence of which were the efforts to gain more permanent contacts at the curia. All over Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century, the princes were beginning to create national churches in the wake of the failure of the conciliarist cause, but the growing influence in church matters was achieved in cooperation with the pope not in opposition to him, as is pointed out by Per Ingesman. Christian II had

¹¹³ Cf. Albrechtsen 1997, p. 204 ff. and below.

¹¹⁴ Ingesman 1994, esp. pp. 292–98; N. K. Andersen 1962, pp. 190–99.

¹¹⁵ Lindhardt 1942; Losman 1970, esp. pp. 123–47. Christopher of Bavaria supported Felix V until his death.

¹¹⁶ Ingesman 2003, pp. 434–36.

initiated a program presented in his laws of 1522 for the creation of a national church strictly under the control of the king, but at this stage it was never conceived of as a breach with Rome.¹¹⁷ Only after the Reformation did the king take over the role formerly held by the pope in the Danish church—although Frederik I had taken the first steps to break with Rome.¹¹⁸

Frederik I died in 1533. Officially he was still a Catholic, but from 1526 his intention to create a royal territorial church separate from Rome became clear. His politics slowly but steadily prepared the way for a reformation of the Danish church. It has been called a “step by step Reformation” (“skridtvis reformation”) by the Danish theologian Thorkild C. Lyby in his doctoral dissertation on the foreign policy and church policy during the reign of Frederik I.¹¹⁹ At the death of Frederik I, the situation was very unclear. There was still a strong Catholic party among the members of the Danish Council headed by the bishops. At a council that met in Copenhagen in June there was no agreement on the election of a new king. The Catholic majority wanted Frederik’s twelve-year-old son, Hans, as king, whereas a minority opted for another son, the Lutheran Christian, who had reformed the Church in his duchy of Haderslev in 1526.¹²⁰ In 1534 it came to war when a grandson of Christian I’s brother, Count Christopher of Oldenburg, came to Denmark with an army, hired by Jürgen Koch and Jürgen Wullenweber from the city of Lübeck conspiring together with the mayor of Copenhagen Ambrosius Bogbinder, officially to reinstall Christian II as king. At a meeting in Jutland in July the lesser nobility forced the bishops to appoint Duke Christian as king. He accepted the offer and was crowned in August after some initial fighting and risings around the country.¹²¹

During the summer of 1535 Christian, and his general from Holstein, Johan Rantzau, destroyed the opposing forces, and in 1536 only the

¹¹⁷ J. O. Andersen 1917, pp. 139–202; Ingesman 2003, pp. 481–82, who points out that the theocratic formulations found in, for instance, England and France, are not to be found in the Danish sources.

¹¹⁸ For the Danish relationship to the papacy Ingesman 2003 has now replaced the older works of Moltesen 1896 and Lindbæk 1907. However, Lindbæk is still of great value for the present investigation because he gave the crusade efforts of the fifteenth century popes much attention, which is not discussed by Ingesman.

¹¹⁹ Lyby 1993, pp. 423–40.

¹²⁰ Lausten 1987a, pp. 17–20; Lausten 1987c, pp. 35–37.

¹²¹ Cf. *Danske Kongers Haandfæstninger*, pp. 79–82.

cities of Malmö and Copenhagen had still not surrendered. Malmö surrendered in April 1536, and Copenhagen followed suit in July. On 30 October 1536, at the national assembly in Copenhagen, the Reformation was officially proclaimed. The Catholic bishops blamed for having caused the war, were imprisoned and the country was declared to be a secular state. The transition from the Catholic confession to a Protestant confession did not take place until the year after, when the king signed the new law for the church—*Kirkeordinansen*—and held public celebrations to mark the event: After having signed the law, the king was crowned and anointed together with his queen, Dorothea, in the *Vor Frue Kirke* [Church of Our Lady] in Copenhagen. The new Lutheran bishops were consecrated and the University of Copenhagen re-opened as a Lutheran institution.

During the reigns of Christian III (1536–59), Frederik II (1559–88) and Christian IV (1588–1648) the Danish realm consisted of Denmark, the provinces of southern part of present day Sweden (Bohuslen, Halland, Blekinge, and Skåne), and Norway including Iceland and the Faroe Islands, and—on paper at least—Greenland. Although Norway is usually referred to as a twin monarchy it became constitutionally a province of the Danish state after 1536. Kingship remained elective even if the principal of heredity was observed in royal succession, but the elective process meant that the king still had to sign a coronation charter.¹²² The Danish conglomerate state also included Schleswig and Holstein, whose relationship to the state is very complex. The duchy of Southern Jutland or Schleswig, as it became predominately called in the thirteenth century, had traditionally been a fief of the Danish king. The dukes of Holstein had been in complete control of Schleswig between 1325 and 1340, but that changed in the second half of the fourteenth century when Valdemar IV, Margrethe I, and Erik of Pomerania struggled hard to win it back for the crown. After a prolonged and hard fought war in the beginning of the fifteenth century, which we shall return to in chapter 1, peace was settled between the kingdom of Denmark and the counts of Holstein in 1435. In 1460, Duke Adolph of Schleswig and Holstein died without an heir and a personal union with Denmark was formed when King Christian I was elected as Duke of

¹²² Cf. Petersen & Jespersen 1987, pp. 473–75; L. Jespersen 2000, pp. 47–51; Lockhart 2004, pp. 3–4.

Schleswig and Count of Holstein. But whereas Schleswig—being also a Danish church province—belonged to the Danish crown, Holstein remained part of the German empire.¹²³ Until the end of the period, the geographical area controlled by the Danish kings was large but sparsely populated and economically poor compared to other European kingdoms. It is very difficult to estimate the exact size of the population, but it is generally believed that there lived about 800.000 inhabitants in Denmark-Norway and about the same number perhaps a little less in Sweden-Finland in the fifteenth century rising to one and a quarter million in each realm in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹²⁴

From the thirteenth century the annual market in Skåne and the herring fishery in the Sound (Øresund) had become a major source of income for the Danish kings. Its importance waned during the fifteenth century as it was relegated from an international trade centre to a local fish market. However, it still provided a contribution to the royal budget. The Hanseatic Cities had wide-ranging privileges to trade in the Scandinavian countries established in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Erik of Pomerania tried to forward national trade at the expense of former Hanse privileges, which of course brought him into conflict with the Cities, which became an important issue in the political dealings and wars between the Scandinavian kingdoms. In the fifteenth century English and Dutch merchants increasingly began to trade in the Baltic as part of a general development in international trade patterns of fifteenth century Europe, which saw a shift from the Baltic to the new economic centres in the North Atlantic. One consequence of this change for the Danish economy was the development of the horse export industry as well as live oxen transported over the southern border to Germany through Holstein. The changing patterns of commerce also “spelled the death” of the Hanseatic Cities monopoly on the Baltic trade. In the second half of the sixteenth century Danish merchants received equal rights as their Hanse counterparts. The changes also had great political and financial implications for the Danish realm. Controlling the Sound—the small strip of water between Denmark and Sweden guarded by the fortresses of Kronborg and Helsingborg—brought a substantial income to the royal treasury in

¹²³ Cf. Poulsen 2003, esp. pp. 401–33, 500–6, 580–86; Gregersen 1981.

¹²⁴ Cf. K. J. V. Jespersen 2004, pp. 118–19, 143; Rian 2000, p. 20.

taxes levied on merchant ships and their cargoes as the traffic through the Sound increased greatly especially in the second half of the sixteenth century. These revenues meant that the Danish kings Frederik II and Christian IV had great resources at their disposal, which were used on an extensive building programme and on the construction of a powerful naval fleet to protect the privileged position of Denmark controlling the international trading routes between the Baltic and the new economic centres such as the Netherlands and England. The rise of Denmark as a political power in both Baltic and continental politics in the second part of the sixteenth century was largely due to this position as “gate-keeper” for the rich international trade in the Baltic. Denmark remained the dominant Scandinavian power until the early seventeenth century, although it was clear towards the end of the sixteenth century that Sweden could no longer be forced into submission militarily.¹²⁵

The ideas of the renaissance are generally believed to have come to Denmark belatedly and in a sluggish and irregular manner, as is argued in the case of England.¹²⁶ It is often argued that despite early contacts they bore only modest fruits until the sixteenth century. Thus Frederik II and Christian IV are considered to be the great renaissance kings. However, the fifteenth century is probably greatly overlooked in this context and, as it will become apparent, the impulses and ideas of the Italian renaissance humanists certainly had an immediate impact on the Danish crusades.

¹²⁵ Enemark 1994a; Enemark 2003; K. J. V. Jespersen 2004, pp. 12–16; Lockhart 2004, pp. 3–4.

¹²⁶ *Danmark og renæssancen, 1500–1650*, esp. p. 22; Levine 1987, esp. p. 45.

PART ONE

CRUSADES AT THE ENDS OF THE EARTH
1400–1523



De Pygmæis Gruntlandiæ, & rupe Huitsark.

CHAPTER ONE

KALMAR UNION AND THE CRUSADE, 1397–1523

Crusades were inseparable from the air one breathed in Scandinavia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as everywhere else in Europe.¹ Royal ideology centred on crusading ideology and a Danish empire in the Baltic was created as result of a continuous crusade against the heathen Slavs living on the southern shores of the Baltic Sea, and against the Estonians.² Crusades in support of the Holy Land were preached, and money for the war against the infidels collected. Crusading was depicted in literature and was painted on church walls. It was part of the celebration of mass, integrated into the liturgy, and in the monasteries, monks and nuns prayed for the success of the crusade. Nothing changed with the fall of Acre in 1291. The Holy Land was lost to Christendom and would not be re-conquered, but contemporaries could not of course have known that. Plans and treatises on how to recover the Holy Land were produced, vows were made, new crusade liturgy and prayers invented, and money collected for new crusades. The purpose of the present chapter will be to investigate the role of the crusade in the late medieval period, from the forming of the Nordic Union of Kalmar in 1397 to the end of the reign of Christian II in 1523. First, however, a brief look at the period from the fall of Acre to the founding of the Kalmar Union.

Denmark and the Crusade in the Fourteenth Century

Crusades were fought on all frontiers of Latin Christendom in the fourteenth century. The crusade theatres in the Baltic, in Spain, and in the Mediterranean attracted knights from all over Europe in search

¹ Powicke 1962, p. 80: “It is not too much to say that the recovery of the Holy Land, whether as an idea, a symbol, or an immediate duty, pervaded the minds of men in the thirteenth century. It was inseparable from the air they breathed. However indifferent or sceptical they might be, they could not escape its influence”.

² Riis 1977; K. V. Jensen 2004; Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004; J. M. Jensen 2003a.

of honour, profit, indulgences, and advancement. The knight and chronicler Jean Froissart stressed that Prussia, Spain, and the Holy Land were equally desirable goals for the crusaders.³ Crusades were also conducted within Christendom, sometimes in an alliance between papal policy and national interest like the English Bishop Henry Despencer of Norwich's crusade in Flanders in the 1380s.⁴ Papal struggle in Italy was placed within the context of crusades "beyond the sea", when money was collected explicitly for fighting enemies of the pope in Italy as well as for expeditions towards the Holy Land.⁵ The crusade tithes were of course also levied and collected in Denmark, and crusades were preached.⁶ The three Scandinavian kingdoms naturally formed part of the crusading plans of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, because "there live many peoples on peninsulas as well as on islands, among which there are many strong and brave sailors that no doubt would be of great use for the crusade", as Marino Sanudo Torsello wrote in the early fourteenth century.⁷ Marino Sanudo travelled around Europe presenting his elaborate plan to win back the Holy Land. It was worked out in every detail and completed with a number of maps of the Mediterranean, the Holy Land, and of the city of Acre by the professional Venetian cartographer Pietro Vesconte.⁸ His travels to the courts and princes of Europe also took him to Holstein, if not preaching, then at least to make propaganda for the crusade.⁹

The unstable situation in Scandinavia and particular in Denmark in the fourteenth century is perhaps the reason why we do not hear of any participation of Danish knights in the crusades in Spain or in the

³ Cf. Nicholson 2004, esp. pp. 226, 230, 235; Tengström 1997, 2:108, n. 784. Cf. Chaucer's imaginary knight in, Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, pp. 2–3, who had fought in all theatres "as well in cristendom as in hethenesse". As Christopher Tyerman comments, "Crusading in fourteenth century England was as habitual as it had been in the thirteenth", Tyerman 1988, p. 259. For the many knights from England that fought in these wars, see Tyerman 1988, pp. 259–301.

⁴ Cf. Tyerman 1988, pp. 333–42; Housley 1991; Housley 2002, p. 28.

⁵ Housley 1986. Cf. Housley 1982; Housley 1992, pp. 234–250.

⁶ Cf. in general Moltesen 1896; K. V. Jensen 2000a, pp. 42–50.

⁷ Marino Sanudo dictus Torsellus, *Liber Secretorum fidelium Crucis*, p. 72. Sanudo's letters are printed *ibid.*, pp. 289–316.

⁸ Tyerman 1982. On the crusade plans of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, see in general Schein 1991; Leopold 2000b; Leopold 2000a; Forey 1980; Tyerman 1984.

⁹ Marino Sanudo dictus Torsellus, 2.4.18–19, pp. 72–75 and the letter pp. 304–7 (no. 16). Cf. Bjørnbo 1909, pp. 210–12.

Mediterranean, and only know of very few taking part in the *Reysen* or “package crusades” of the Teutonic knights in Prussia that became increasingly popular among the nobility of western Christendom during the fourteenth century.¹⁰ In Denmark, the redeeming of crusade vows was a common item in wills, but it seems to have disappeared in the fourteenth century. The last time it is mentioned is in a will dating from 1304.¹¹ The Danish historian Kurt Villads Jensen has suggested that people continued to give financial support for the crusade although they no longer vowed to go in person. He sees an indication of this in the recurring complaints about how donations for the crusade reached the cathedral chapters, but never got to the Curia.¹² The funds were at least so plentiful that the pope found it worthwhile to collect them, and collectors were sent to Scandinavia on several occasions through the fourteenth century.¹³ The item in wills on redeeming the cross continued a little longer in Sweden. The latest and perhaps best known example is the pledge in the will of King Magnus II Eriksson and Queen Blanca of Sweden from 1346 in which they promised to send 100 knights “to fight against the enemies of God” if Magnus died without having fulfilled his crusade vow.¹⁴ It is uncertain if the enemies of God in this context are the Turks or the Russians, but they could of course be both.¹⁵

Around this time Magnus Eriksson had expansionist ambitions. He made claims for the—at the time—Danish province of Skåne and at the same time began to establish himself as ruler in the eastern Baltic with a series of crusades directed against the Russians.¹⁶ According to

¹⁰ Cf. Paravicini 1989–95, esp. 1:113–15; Jakštas 1959, pp. 1–21. To my knowledge, no one has ever looked for Danish participants in the Spanish crusades of the fifteenth century, and it is of course possible that names will appear if searched for. No Scandinavian names appear from the study of foreign participation in the 1492 Granada crusade, cf. Benito Ruano 1978. As we shall see in the next chapter, Danes did, however, participate in the Portuguese crusades in the Atlantic and in Africa in the fifteenth century.

¹¹ DD II/5:292–94 (no. 309). Cf. *Testamenter fra Danmarks middelalder indtil 1450*, pp. 7, 9, 28, 33, 36, 41, 51. Money was also donated to the Holy Land, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 21, 25.

¹² K. V. Jensen 2000a, pp. 44–45. See for instance DD II/5:262–63 (no. 278).

¹³ *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs- og Dagböger*; Moltesen 1896.

¹⁴ DS, 5:561–68 (no. 4069). Cf. Waško 1996, pp. 117–26; K. V. Jensen 2000a, pp. 44–45.

¹⁵ Cf. Tengström 1997, for different perceptions of the Russians. They could be described as both heathens and saracens, cf. esp. 1:120–39, 145–220.

¹⁶ Cf. Christiansen 1997, pp. 189–98; Lindkvist 2001, pp. 125–26. See also Housley

one of the medieval Icelandic annals, “the king of Russia” ravaged parts of Sweden and the bishops of Åbo and Alvastra, Hemming and Peter, were sent to Rome in 1346 to get a crusade bull to “make people in Russia Christians”.¹⁷ Magnus had been encouraged in his crusade efforts in 1346 by the later Swedish saint Birgitta of Vadstena, who persuaded him to direct a crusade against Novgorod after having received a revelation that criticised the king for fighting against fellow Christians—i.e. Danes. Instead, he should turn against pagans and infidels in the east in order for Christian faith and love to be spread.¹⁸ In another revelation, she reproached the king for preparing a secular war and not a crusade.¹⁹ The crusade should be conducted under two banners, one of Christ’s passion and the other the sword of justice. The first meant that priests and monks who could refute the errors of the pagans and instruct them in the Christian faith should accompany the king. Only if the infidels would not listen to advice and admonition should the king proceed under the second banner.²⁰ He therefore called a meeting in 1347 to discuss the faiths, but at the same time, he was preparing for war.²¹ Discussions led to nothing, and he launched expeditions in 1348 and 1350, whose aims were to get hold of Russian territories that bordered in the north on Swedish Karelia and on Estonia in the south.²² They did not accomplish much, however, and the crusade had to be abandoned in 1351. The target area of the crusade clearly indicates that what was at stake was also the important and rich trading routes between Novgorod and the West, and getting control over the two rivers that connected Lake Ladoga with the Gulf of Finland.²³ There can on the other hand be no doubt that the crusade was considered a genuine crusade, although the papal bulls

1992, pp. 322–50 for international background. For the Danish Swedish struggle over Skåne in these years, cf. *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, pp. 713–18; A. E. Christensen 1980, pp. 48–75.

¹⁷ *Islandske Annaler*, p. 223.

¹⁸ *Revelaciones sanctae Birgittae*, 8.2, 8:87–89; Lind 2001, pp. 145–49; Tengström 1997, 1:103–4, 126–29; Jensen, Jensen & Lind 2001, pp. 23–24; Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 330–33.

¹⁹ *Revelaciones sanctae Birgittae*, 6.41 and 8.44, 6:161–62 and 8:171–73. Cf. also *Den Heliga Birgittas revelaciones extravagantes*, 51, pp. 169–73.

²⁰ *Revelaciones sanctae Birgittae*, 8.39–40, 43, 8:163–64, 170–71; *Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelser*, 4:356–57, 366–67.

²¹ Lind 2001, pp. 145–47.

²² FMU, 1:215–22 (no. 552); Fennell 1966; Christiansen 1997, pp. 192–93.

²³ Jensen, Jensen & Lind 2001, p. 24.

were not issued until 1351, after the actual fighting.²⁴ According to the pope, the aim of the crusades was to convert the pagan Karelians and Izhorians. The financial support the king was to receive for the crusade was explicitly to fight the Russians—“enemies of the Catholic faith”—who threatened the missionary work.²⁵ At the same time, the pope admonished the Teutonic Knights to support the crusade and ordered the bishops of Ösel and Dorpat and the provost of Riga to ban and prevent the selling of weapons and supplies to the Russians, because they attacked those Karelians and Izhorians who had been converted by King Magnus.²⁶ Birgitta, of course, blamed the king and the moral conduct of his soldiers, who according to the Swedish chronicler Erik Olai were mainly Danish and German mercenaries, for the failure of the crusade. Their sole purpose, Erik Olai wrote, was profit, money, and the acquisition of booty.²⁷ The blaming of the moral conduct of the soldiers as an explanation for defeat had been common all through the history of the crusades. And the criticism does not mean that the wars were not crusades, only that they have failed because some took part in them for the wrong reasons. The Swedish crusades of Magnus Eriksson naturally attracted foreign knights who participated for the same reasons as they fought in Livonia, or anywhere else.²⁸

Valdemar IV and the Crusade

When Valdemar IV seized the crown in 1340, he began to work assiduously to win back the Danish realm. As part of his efforts to win back control and get the support of the papacy, crusading played an important role. In 1341, Hugh IV of Cyprus and the Master of the Knights of Saint John sent envoys to the papal court to beg for assistance against increasing Turkish aggression. In 1343, a league was created based mostly on papal, Hospitaller, Cypriot, and Venetian contributions to equip galleys for a crusade against the Turks.²⁹ The pope levied a crusade tax in 1343 to pay for his galleys, which was also levied

²⁴ FMU, 1:235–40 (no. 587–90).

²⁵ FMU, 1:236–39 (no. 588); *Sveriges Traktater*, 2:148–49 (no. 300); DS 6:653–54 (no. 5253–55).

²⁶ *Sveriges Traktater*, 2:150–51 (no. 301–2).

²⁷ FMU, 1:215–22 (no. 552), at p. 221 trans. in *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 81–82 (no. 23). Cf. *Revelaciones sanctae Birgittae*, 8.47, 8:174–79, at p. 178.

²⁸ Paravicini 1989–95, 1:51, 205–6.

²⁹ Housley 1992, p. 59.

in Denmark. The crusade was preached and the plans made public.³⁰ The tithe was for three years, but it was expanded to a five-year tithe in 1345.³¹ The crusade should be preached and indulgences were granted to those who took the cross and vowed to serve for a year, as well as to those who sent a substitute crusader in their place or gave as much money as was needed to equip a crusader for a whole year. Authorities should also make sure that coffins were placed in the churches for the collection of the contributions. Valdemar seized this great opportunity. Around this time he took the cross—perhaps explicitly for a crusade against Lithuania—for which he received the entire crusade tithe. He thus made his crusade vow about the same time as King Magnus Eriksson did. It is therefore possible that these crusade vows should also be seen in connection with the political rivalry between Denmark and Sweden, especially perhaps in Estonia, but also concerning the province of Skåne, which Magnus as mentioned tried to claim for the Swedish crown in these years. This would stress the crusade vows' political importance. The vow of Valdemar IV was certainly connected to Valdemar's political ambitions and struggles from 1340 onwards, and the crusade tithe provided a much needed financial input.

The need for money also meant that Valdemar IV began negotiations for selling the Danish duchy of Estonia to the Teutonic Order in 1341.³² A rebellion broke out in Estonia in 1343, however, perhaps partly at the instigation of the Swedes, and the Teutonic Knights were called in to “force the rebels to submission to their lords and call them back to the obedience of the church”, as the Royal officials and local authorities in Estonia explained.³³ The rebellion was suppressed in 1345 with the aid of the Teutonic Knights. Valdemar IV and Danish authorities then worked to improve the internal structures of the duchy. They settled disputes and put it in a good condition to raise the price before selling it to the Teutonic Knights. The latter had initially refused the offer, but ended up buying it at a much higher price in 1346. It is perhaps doubtful whether Valdemar IV considered Estonia as a stepping-stone for the crusade against Lithuania, since plans to sell it

³⁰ DD III/1:401 (no. 401); DN, 6:192–97 (no. 170). Cf. Riant 1868, pp. 563–64; Moltesen 1896, pp. 34–35.

³¹ DD III/2:187 (no. 200); DN, 6:200–3 (no. 176).

³² Cf. Skyum-Nielsen 1981; Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 315–22.

³³ DD III/1:360–62 (no. 376). Cf. *Nya Källor*, pp. 5–7 (no. 2) for relations between Estonia and Magnus Eriksson.

began as early as 1341. As a political statement, however, Valdemar IV's crusade vow had great importance internationally as it gave support to the missionary work of the Order. It would also serve as a move to counter Magnus Eriksson, who Valdemar perhaps feared would begin cooperating with the Order.³⁴

While these crusades were being planned and conducted on the northern frontier of Christendom, the galleys of the international crusade league assembled at Negroponte in 1344 and managed to take the important stronghold and port of Smyrna in October. Exaggerated rumours of a great victory over the Turks prompted a great crusading fervour that swept parts of Europe, and several thousand people took the cross, especially in the North Italian cities. As a result, a new crusade set sail under the leadership of Humbert II, the Dauphin of Viennois, who had long been obsessed with chivalric ideals and founded a secular knightly Order of Saint Catharine. This crusade did not accomplish much, although Humbert did manage to reach Smyrna in 1346 where he helped strengthen the city's fortifications.³⁵

At the same time, Valdemar IV initiated his crusade against Lithuania. According to the German chronicler the Franciscan Detmar, who wrote his chronicle in Lübeck in the second half of the fourteenth century, Valdemar went to Lübeck in 1346, and then to Prussia in company with Erich II of Saxony to fight against the Lithuanians. The Lithuanian crusade of Valdemar and Erich came to nothing, however: "There was no war on that occasion", as Detmar wrote.³⁶ Instead, they went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, probably as a commutation of their crusade vows. According to the *Younger Chronicle of Zealand*, Valdemar "went on horse to the Holy Land out of piety together with several noblemen. After being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre, he personally knighted several of his entourage there".³⁷ Detmar reports that it was Erich of Saxony who knighted Valdemar at the Sepulchre. They probably left Scandinavia in February 1347 and were back in June the same year.³⁸ Valdemar left for Jerusalem without papal permission, "not in

³⁴ Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 323–33; Tägil 1962, pp. 117–37.

³⁵ Housley 1992, pp. 59–61; Setton 1976–84, 1:195–223; Atiya 1965, pp. 300–18; Iorga 1896, pp. 33–143; Delaville le Roulx 1886, pp. 103–10.

³⁶ *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*, 1:505: "do wart des males nyn strid". Cf. Bruns 1955, pp. 86–87 on Detmar.

³⁷ *Chronica Sialandie*, sub anno 1347 at p. 125 (Danish translation: *Sjællandske Krønike*, pp. 34–35).

³⁸ *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*, 1:505 with n. 3.

contempt of the authority of the holy mother church but moved by a devotional desire”, as he explained in the letter to the pope, asking for absolution upon his return.³⁹

This was perhaps not the only time Valdemar took the cross. Peter I of Cyprus, who was also titular king of Jerusalem, had sent letters influenced by his chancellor, the crusading enthusiast Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405) to the kings and princes of the West in 1362, declaring his intention of leading a crusade against the Holy Land. In October, he left for the West to organise and make arrangements for his crusade.⁴⁰ In March 1363, John II of France agreed to lead the crusade and Cardinal Talleyrand was elected as papal legate for the crusade, and on 12 April the crusade was publicly preached and a six-year tithe imposed on the French church. At a great ceremony, Peter I and John II took the cross.⁴¹ According to one of the papal biographers of the popes of Avignon, Valdemar IV took the cross together with John II and Peter I in Avignon in the presence of Pope Urban V together with a number of other nobles and magnates for a crusade to the Holy Land (*passagium generale ultramarinum*).⁴²

³⁹ “Non in contemptum clauium sancti matric ecclesie sed deuotionis effectum”, Helveg 1867–68, pp. 566–69 (no. 155–56); APD, 1:158–59 (no. 347).

⁴⁰ Cf. Edbury 1991, pp. 164–66.

⁴¹ Philippe de Mézières, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 105–6; Setton 1976–84, 1:224–57; Housley 1992, pp. 39–40; Atiya 1965, pp. 319–44; Iorga 1896, pp. 165–67; Delaville le Roulx 1886, pp. 118–40. See also Bliznyuk 2001, pp. 51–57 although I find the sharp distinction she draws between crusade ideology and the policies of Peter I unwarranted.

⁴² According to the text called *Prima vita Urbani V* in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, 1:349–82, at pp. 352–53: “Post dictam [a battle 5 december 1362] etiam promotionem Urbani pape, ad ipsa[m] satis cito venerunt Johannes, Francorum, Petrus Cipri, et Dacie reges, causa ipsum visitandi sibi[que] reverentiam exhibendi. Qui demum cum suis voluntate, deliberatione et consilio, ad faciendum generale passigium ultramarinum, et specialiter contra Turcos, se mutuo astrinxerunt [1363]; fuerunt cum multis aliis magnis et notabilibus viris cruce signati per dictum papam. Qui etiam pro tunc crucem contra dictos Turcos predicavit, ordinans dictum generale passagium, cujus capitaneum constituit prefatum Johannem Francorum regem, personaliter onus hujusmodi in se suscipientem. Cui etiam adjunxit dominum Thaleyrandum de Petragoriis, episcopum Albanensem cardinalem, quem legatum de latere ordinavit secum profecturum, pro passagii hujusmodi prosecutionem. Fuitque pro tunc de consensu unanimi predictorum missus dictus Petrus rex Cipri ad partes Occidentale, causa exhortandi et inducendi earum principes, ut vellent se accingere ac disponere ad passagium memoratum”. This is the only source that explicitly mentions that Valdemar took the cross, cf. Werner (canonicus ecclesiae) Bunnensis, *Secunda vita Urbani V*, in *ibid.*, 1:384–93, at pp. 384–85; Continuator Werneris Bunnensis, *Tertia vita Urbani V*, in *ibid.*, 1:394–97, at p. 395; Continuator Werneris Bunnensis, *Quarta vita Urbani V*, in *ibid.*, 1:398–402, at p. 400.

Historians have doubted that he took the cross mainly because it is mentioned only in one source and Valdemar in general was considered rather “indifferent to the sufferings of the Christians”.⁴³ Others have argued that if Valdemar had taken the cross, he would have been granted the crusade-tithe levied in 1363 that was collected in Denmark in the 1360s and 1370s.⁴⁴ A crusade tithe was issued in Denmark in June 1363, for the war against Bernabo Visconti the “hereticus perfidus” in Milan.⁴⁵ However peace was settled between the pope and Bernabo Visconti in March 1364 on the basis of negotiations for the “ultramarine” crusade by the papal legate Peter Thomas.⁴⁶ Count Amadeus VI of Savoy, who also promised to take part in the crusade, received like the French king all that had hitherto been collected for the crusade for the last twelve years but not yet spent and a tithe for the next six years.⁴⁷ It would seem likely that Valdemar would have received a similar privilege had he taken cross in March 1363 or at a later date, but perhaps the sources are simply failing us. But on the other hand it is not unlikely that Valdemar took the cross in Avignon. Count Amadeus of Savoy took the cross in Avignon in January 1364 and founded the crusading Order of the Collar, which the chroniclers and papal biographers also fail to mention, making the *e silentio* conclusion that Valdemar did not take the cross seem even more dubious. Valdemar was involved in contemporary international politics in which the crusade played an important part. Valdemar apparently also had some connection to the French King John. In the 1350s, diplomatic approaches were made between Denmark and France, and in 1359, Valdemar offered to come to John II’s aid in the Hundred Years’ War against the English.⁴⁸

⁴³ Dahlmann 1840–1902, 2:23; Iorga 1896, pp. 162–64, esp. p. 163. One of the first discussions of the problem must be by the eighteenth century Danish Scholar Hans Gram in the notes to Johannes Meursius, *Historia Danica*, cols. 526–30, cf. E. Jørgensen 1960, pp. 189–93.

⁴⁴ DS, 8:285 (no. 6761); Moltesen 1896, pp. 47–48. Cf. APD, 7:107 (no. 5429); DD III/6:270–71 (no. 307); K. V. Jensen 2000a, p. 43 n. 20.

⁴⁵ APD, 1:243 (no. 557); DN, 6:300 (no. 257).

⁴⁶ Philippe de Mézières, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 107–10, 213–221; Setton 1976–84, 1:246–47.

⁴⁷ Setton 1976–84, 1:245, 285–86.

⁴⁸ According to the instructions, Valdemar was to undertake an invasion of England financed by the French king, DD III/5:197–205, 206–8, 212–13, 214–15 etc. (no. 227, 228, 230, 233A, 234A, 235 etc.). Cf. K. V. Jensen 2000a, pp. 54–55; Tägil 1962, pp. 222–231.

The information that Valdemar took the cross *together* with the French and Cypriot kings can on the other hand not be taken at face value. Valdemar arrived in Avignon only in February 1364.⁴⁹ The pope was well informed of Valdemar's arrival at the curia. On 22 December 1363, Urban V wrote to Valdemar and said how glad he was that Valdemar would come and see him and promised to send him a passport, which was duly issued three days later.⁵⁰ Most likely, Valdemar heard of the crusade plans ahead of his arrival in Avignon but unfortunately he was probably not present in Avignon in March 1363, and the source that mentions him taking the cross at the same time as Peter I and John II is probably in error.⁵¹ On the other hand Valdemar might have taken the cross at a later date. According to the English historian Norman Housley, Peter I of Cyprus was "realistic enough to know that this expedition would never materialize". He was allowed to recruit for and lead a *passagium particulare* to spearhead the French crusade, and he embarked on a lengthy recruiting tour that took him to "Flanders, Brabant, Germany, England, Paris, Aquitaine, Prague, Krakow, and Vienna", where he was "feasted and promises were made to take part in the crusade".⁵² Valdemar was present at the great crusading congress in Krakow called by Casimir, which was also attended by Peter I, the new French king Charles V, and other kings and princes from Europe. Valdemar was at least directly involved in the talks on a new crusade in 1363.⁵³ Upon his return from this preaching tour, Peter I actually met Valdemar again in Basel the day before they arrived in Avignon, and they travelled together for the last part of the journey.⁵⁴ Peter undoubtedly would have tried to win Valdemar for the crusade. Valdemar probably decided that he could not leave his kingdom, as in December 1363 during his stay in Krakow he had made an alliance with King Casimir of Poland directed against the Teutonic Order.⁵⁵ But a crusade vow would on the other hand have given him political advantages needed against the Teutonic Knights. If Peter I was aware

⁴⁹ Valdemar apparently left Denmark in late October 1363 and returned in the summer of 1364, cf. Lerdam 2001, p. 78 n. 6. Unfortunately the only historian who accepts Valdemar's crusade-vow as a fact should probably be corrected, Delaville le Roulx 1886, p. 120. He believed that Valdemar was in Avignon in March 1363.

⁵⁰ APD, 1:248–49 (no. 573–74).

⁵¹ Above p. 42 n. 42.

⁵² Housley 1992, p. 40; Iorga 1896, pp. 144–273.

⁵³ Tägil 1962, pp. 246–49; Knoll 1970, p. 397.

⁵⁴ DD III/7:17 (no. 18).

⁵⁵ Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 336–38; Tägil 1962, pp. 248–52.

of the lack of realism in the *passagium generale*, so would Valdemar have been, and the promise could have been made relatively safely. The death of John II in April 1364 “relegated the crusade to the realm of fantasy”, as Housley writes. Valdemar could hardly have anticipated the death of John II so shortly after his own vow, but it might just be the reason why there has been left so little record of it. Valdemar could thus have taken his crusade vow almost at the same time as Amadeus of Savoy, who was granted the Golden Rose by the pope in March 1365 as a symbol of his crusader status in the Levant.⁵⁶

During his stay in Avignon, Valdemar received many privileges from the pope, some apparently more politically important than others. For instance, the pope placed Denmark under the protection of the pope and Saint Peter and granted permission that those of Valdemar’s loyal subjects, who had promised to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Rome or Santiago or made similar vows, could get their vows commuted to other religious works.⁵⁷ One cannot help wondering if crusade vows were among those “similar vows”. Among the many privileges Valdemar received, he was also presented with the Golden Rose by the pope as well as with a relic of the true cross—as symbol of *his* crusader status as well.⁵⁸ In fact, very few of the promises to send troops for the 1363 crusade were kept, and when the fleet of Peter I set sail in June 1365, it was to a large extent with troops hired by Peter himself. His trip to the west had, however, not been entirely unfruitful, and his fleet numbered 165 vessels and his army may have been as large as 10,000 men and 1,400 mounts. He succeeded in capturing Alexandria, but due to lack of reinforcements and a realization that it would be impossible to hold the city against Mamluk counter-attacks, he had to withdraw and his fleet set sail for Cyprus in October, heavily laden with booty.⁵⁹ Amadeus of Savoy, however, set off in 1366 and the crusade did in fact achieve some benefits in the Morea and in helping the Byzantine Emperor John V Paleologus.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Setton 1976–84, 1:285–86.

⁵⁷ Helveg 1869–71, pp. 852–56 (no. 183), at pp. 853–54; APD, 1:250–52 (no. 577); 1:267–68 (no. 591).

⁵⁸ Albert Krantz, *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarium*, pp. 318–19; Albert Krantz, *Denmårckische, Swedische und Norwågische Chronik*, p. ccccxI; RayAnn, 7:85–92, 99–100; Schlegel 1771–76, 4:16–18; Dahlmann 1840–1902, 2:23.

⁵⁹ Housley 1992, pp. 40–41; Setton 1976–84, 1:258–84; Atiya 1965, pp. 345–78.

⁶⁰ Setton 1976–84, 1:291–326; Atiya 1965, pp. 379–97; Delaville le Roulx 1886, pp. 141–58.

The great poet and humanist Petrarch lamented that Valdemar among a number of other Christian kings failed to support the crusade, which of course says nothing about whether Valdemar took the cross or only that he did not go in person.⁶¹ In October 1366, the pope called for renewed support in aid of Peter I and the crusade was also preached in Denmark.⁶² Peter I, however, was assassinated in 1369 without having succeeded in launching a crusade to his titular kingdom of Jerusalem.

Crusades and Herrings

There may just be another piece of evidence suggesting that Peter I trying to win Valdemar for the crusade. In his *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin* Philippe de Mézières describes the annual herring fishing in the Sound he encountered as he travelled through Danish waters on his way to Prussia:

By long custom, every year ships from the whole of Germany and Prussia gather in great companies in this arm of the sea to catch these herrings. In each ship there are at least six people, and in many eight, nine or ten. Besides these forty thousand vessels there are five hundred big and medium-sized ships, whose sole task is to collect, salt, and pack into casks the fish taken by the other ships... So you see a great army of men are busy capturing this small fish. For if you reckon up you will find that there are more than three hundred thousand men doing nothing but fish for herrings.

When I was going to Prussia by sea in a big ship, I an old and tired pilgrim, passed through this arm of the sea in fine weather and in the herring season, and I saw the boats and the large and small ships and ate herrings that the fishermen gave us. It was these fishermen, and other people of the district, who described to me what I have told you. It seemed to me desirable that I should record these wonders for two reasons. First, so that we should be aware of the bounty of God towards Christian men in furnishing an abundance of herrings by which all of Germany, France and England are fed in Lent, for poor Christians can have a herring who cannot afford a big fish. The second reason is this: when I call to mind the forty thousand small craft, the five hundred bigger ships and the three hundred thousand Christians gathered together in these two months, I reflect that they would be enough to conquer not only the Holy Land and Jerusalem, but Damascus and the whole of

⁶¹ Tägil 1962, p. 270.

⁶² DD III/7:407–9 (no. 438).

Syria, for these seamen—or even half of them—would be accompanied by the chivalry of Christendom.⁶³

Philippe was not the only crusader who passed through the Sound on his way to Prussia. It was in fact one of the main routes for nobles on their way to the crusade in Prussia. The Earl of Derby made a stop in Helsingør in 1390 and in Copenhagen in 1391 on his way to the killing fields of Prussia.⁶⁴ Another notable crusader, Ghillebert de Lannoy, passed through in 1413, also commenting on the herring fishery.⁶⁵ It is impossible to say exactly when de Mézières' visit in Denmark took place, but it could be dated to the years 1361 to 1365 when he, Peter I, and Peter Thomas were campaigning in the west for the crusade in the autumn of 1364.⁶⁶ G. W. Coopland argues that these were crowded years with a lot of travels, and the visit could also belong to the years 1354–58 when the whereabouts of Philippe de Mézières are unknown. In fact, he writes, between the years 1346 and 1358 there is only one brief mention of him, when he was present in Avignon in 1354. It is possible that during these years he undertook his extensive travels in Muslim lands and in Spain as well as to the North, which he describes in his *Songe du Vieil Pelerin*.⁶⁷ But it does in fact seem as if Philippe de Mézières was in French service in the 1350s against the English at the time when Valdemar IV and John II negotiated for a Danish invasion of England. Philippe was in the service of Arnoul d'Audrehem in Normandy in 1354, and in 1356 he was commander in Caen.⁶⁸ There is, of course, still room for a stay in Scandinavia even with this additional information. If an early date for Philippe's stay in Scandinavia, which according to his unpublished *Oratio Tragedica* was a prolonged stay,⁶⁹ is to be believed, there would be good reasons for Peter I to try and win Valdemar for the crusade based on the information his chancellor could provide. It is in this respect a curious coincidence that Philippe and Valdemar were in Jerusalem at exactly the same time in the spring

⁶³ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe de Vieil Pelerin*, 1:248–50, here quoting the English translation at pp. 129–30.

⁶⁴ Paravicini 1989–95, 1:192–97, esp. p. 196.

⁶⁵ *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, p. 20; Paravicini 1989–95, 1:196 n. 58.

⁶⁶ Jakštas 1959, esp. pp. 26–31; Iorga 1896, pp. 246–47.

⁶⁷ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe de Vieil Pelerin*, 1:9–13.

⁶⁸ Iorga 1896, pp. 95–96; Iorga 1921, p. 122.

⁶⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe de Vieil Pelerin*, 1:128–29. The manuscript, which I have not been able to consult, is in Bibliothèque Mazarin, no. 1651 and written a year or two after *Le Songe*, cf. Iorga 1896, p. viii.

of 1347,⁷⁰ and that Philippe was in the service of John II of France at the time Valdemar and John were negotiating an alliance. One would therefore probably expect Philippe de Mézières to have mentioned it if Valdemar had been among those who were present to take the cross in Avignon in March 1363, which he does not.⁷¹

In *Le Songe*, Philippe de Mézières instructed the French king how to organize French society and to create peace in the whole of Christendom as preparation for one ‘great conclusion’, namely the crusade. Among other embassies, an ambassador should be sent to the “king of Norway, and with the kings of Sweden and Denmark”. The time was ripe for a crusade. The sultan and his council had been told by their astrologers that the Law of Mahomet was on the eve of destruction, and this would lead them to fear the French king and if English, French and other Christians would mend their lives by God’s mercy, the sultan might even be moved to surrender the Holy Land without bloodshed.⁷² The 1380s had seen a number of Ottoman advances in the Levant and from North African coastal cities Barbary corsairs severely hampered the trade of especially Italian merchants. In 1388, the Italian merchants counterattacked, and with a three-year truce between England and France in 1389, the ground for a new crusade was prepared.⁷³ The crusaders landed at Mahdia, but failed to take the city, and eventually had to withdraw.⁷⁴ Philippe’s *Le Songe* contained elaborate plans for a whole series of crusades, one of which was in fact to be directed against North Africa.⁷⁵

In 1395 Philippe de Mézières wrote a letter to the English king, Richard II and urged him to make peace with France and go on a new crusade.⁷⁶ In 1395, the chivalry of Christendom gathered under the banner of John of Nevers to go to the aid of Sigismund of Hungary against the Turks under the leadership of Bayezid I. Froissart wrote that after defeating him and ridding Hungary of infidels “the Christians would [then] . . . enter Syria, they would free the Holy Land and deliver Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from the pagans and from

⁷⁰ Iorga 1896, pp. 71–74. Cf. Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, p. x.

⁷¹ Philippe de Mézières, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 105–6.

⁷² Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe Vieil Pelerin*, 2:95–96, 427–28.

⁷³ Setton 1976–84, 1:327–31.

⁷⁴ Setton 1976–84, 1:331–41.

⁷⁵ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe Vieil Pelerin*, 2:95–103, 427–440.

⁷⁶ Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*.

subjection to the soldan and the enemies of our Lord”.⁷⁷ The great crusade of Nicopolis was on its way. The flower of European and in particular French chivalry was in the end utterly defeated and killed outside of Nicopolis in September of 1396.⁷⁸ Some have claimed that this was the last crusade of the Middle Ages.⁷⁹ Nothing could be further from the truth as will be seen in the following. Philippe de Mézières still held on to his lifelong crusade effort and tried in 1397 to gather support for a new crusade in his *Epistre Lamentable*, addressed to Philip of Burgundy.⁸⁰ The united forces of Christendom were to attack the heathens on three fronts: The Spaniards through North Africa. France, England, and Scotland should meet in Venice and then march on to halt Turkish advances into Europe. High and Low Germany, Prussia, Hungary, and Scandinavia were to march to Constantinople. All armies would rendezvous in Jerusalem for a final meeting. It was perhaps a dream, but again the Scandinavian kingdoms were part of this dream. And no matter how lofty or unrealistic Mézières’ plan was, Scandinavia naturally formed part of the international plans and preparations for the crusade.

Crusade plans were also important in the internal politics of Scandinavia. Valdemar’s crusade vow served many different purposes. They gave him a share in the money collected for the crusade, and it was an important political action that placed him and his realm under the protection of the pope and Saint Peter. The pope also decreed that anyone who after repentance and penitence prayed for King Valdemar and his realm would receive 100 days of indulgence. L. J. Moltesen sees as the origin of this privilege a request by Valdemar to have a crusade preached against his enemies, and that this privilege was as far as the pope could go. Promises to take part in the crusade were important politically, and it placed Valdemar in a stronger position against his enemies in the North and helped him politically, financially, and ideologically in his struggle to rebuild his kingdom. In 1351, he received a crusade tithe from the pope, which probably meant that he was able to secure the province of Skåne and perhaps even secure the centre of trade on Gotland for the Danish crown through use of

⁷⁷ *Œuvres de Froissart*, 15:218–20, quotation on p. 220.

⁷⁸ Housley 1992, pp. 75–79; Setton 1976–84, 1:341–69; Atiya 1965, pp. 435–62; Atiya 1934; Delaville le Roulx 1886, pp. 211–334. Cf. Veszprémy 2001, pp. 223–30.

⁷⁹ Atiya 1934.

⁸⁰ Philippe de Mézières, *Epistre Lamentable*, pp. 490–523.

force in 1360.⁸¹ The tithe was, however, issued at the behest of both Valdemar and Magnus. Magnus was also allowed to take a loan from the collected money in 1351, which the Curia demanded back in 1355, and in 1358 he was excommunicated for not having paid. In 1361, however, he was allowed to take a new loan from the money, this time to fight Valdemar.⁸² The crusade came to play an important role in internal Scandinavian affairs and this pattern continued all through the fifteenth century. At the same time, Scandinavia figured naturally in the international crusade plans and treatises written in support of the crusade. There is no doubt that contemporaries considered the Scandinavian contribution to crusading important.

In the 1380s and 1390s, Valdemar's daughter, Margrethe, was in the process of securing political power in Scandinavia, culminating in the creation of the Union of Kalmar in 1397. She thus had plenty of enemies at home and was in no position to participate in the crusades of these years. Among other things, she also tried to rid her waters of corsairs and pirates during the 1390s by equipping so-called "peace-cogs"—heavily armed and stuffed with soldiers—to patrol her Baltic waters.⁸³ But as soon as she became regent for the newly founded Kalmar Union, she immediately called for a crusade against her enemies in Scandinavia.

Crusades in Scandinavia 1400–1448

The formation of the Kalmar Union meant that from 1397, Danish kings ruled a vast territory that towards north and east was surrounded by the enemies of the faith. Around 1400, the first ruler, Margrethe I (1396–1412), wrote to the pope lamenting the sad geo-political situation of her realm surrounded by water on all sides and easily accessible for the neighbouring countries, so that large multitudes of both Christians and heathens attacked the shores of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden and burned, pillaged, and killed. She had no means to resist them unless she was granted help immediately. The pope therefore commanded the archbishops of Lund, Uppsala, and Trondheim to preach a crusade

⁸¹ DD III/3:358–61 (no. 464–66).

⁸² DS, 6:662 (no. 5263), 879 (no. 5514); DD III/5:83–85 (no. 99); DN, 8:208–10 (no. 170); DS, 8:89 (no. 6518); K. V. Jensen 2000a, p. 48; Housley 1986, pp. 187–88; Riant 1868, pp. 564–68.

⁸³ Cf. Olsen 2002.

against all of Margrethe's enemies, whether Christians or pagans, in 1401.⁸⁴ As Kurt Villads Jensen has remarked, these crusade privileges were unique in being also directed against Margrethe I's Christian political enemies without the usual accusations of heresy or heretical conduct.⁸⁵ For this reason they were perhaps never issued officially, but the idea that the heathens also attacked Christendom in the North and Danish kings had a crusade frontier of their own—often preventing them from participating in the crusade against the Turk—was to be a standard argument during the following century. In 1445, for instance, the Council of Basel allowed the marriage of the ruler of the Kalmar Union Christopher III of Bavaria (1440–1448) to Dorothea of Brandenburg, although they were too closely related, on the ground that the realms of Christopher were daily exposed to the heathens' attacks and devastations. Unless the king resisted them with armed force, it would lead to the destruction and desolation of the realms and even to the diminution of the Christian faith!⁸⁶ In 1449, Christopher's successor Christian I repeated the argument that Denmark was surrounded by water on all sides in a quite different context. It made it difficult for his subjects to travel abroad for the legal cases that were brought against them. The pope therefore granted that in the future all cases where the king's subjects were summoned in a court of first instance abroad should instead have their legal proceedings settled in Denmark by competent judges.⁸⁷ Christian pushed the argument to the limit in a series of letters to the princes of Christendom in the 1450s, but both King Hans and Christian II used it later too as we shall see in the present chapter. First we shall examine the role of the crusade in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Papal Collectors

All through the fourteenth century money had been collected in Scandinavia either by papal legates or by local representatives of the pope.⁸⁸ In the 1390s Baldassare Cossa, the later Pope John XXIII, had functioned as collector in Scandinavia. When he was deposed as pope by the council of Constance in 1415, one of the accusations against him

⁸⁴ DN, 17:197–200 (no. 215).

⁸⁵ K. V. Jensen 2000a, p. 55.

⁸⁶ APD, 3:134–35 (no. 1868); Rep. I, 3:654–56 (no. 7483).

⁸⁷ APD, 3:167 (no. 1940); *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 427–28.

⁸⁸ Moltesen 1896; K. V. Jensen 2000a, pp. 42–50. Cf. also chapter 2.

was that he had taken advantage of his office to gain personal profit to the great harm and mischief of the whole institution of indulgence. He had preached publicly that not even Saint Peter—had he been alive today—would have been able to grant a larger indulgence than he. He had deceived the simple-minded Danish population, the accusation continued, and extorted large sums of money from it before he was exposed and had to flee the country.⁸⁹

On 12 January 1401, Pope Boniface IX authorised Augustinus de Undinis, who was a Benedictine monk, to preach a crusade against the Turks in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden as well as in the dioceses of Lausanne, Bamberg, Meissen, Lübeck, and Cammin. He was equipped with the authority to grant indulgences to those who took the cross or gave subsidies, which should be collected by a papal collector.⁹⁰ He carried with him a special privilege of granting absolution for usury to those who had taken the cross against the Turks.⁹¹ Nothing is known of his stay in Scandinavia, but there might be a connection with the crusade privileges the pope issued to Margrethe's enemies in the North in January 1401.⁹² In September 1405, the pope, Innocent VII, dispatched Archbishop Nicolas of Manfredonia as papal *nuncio* to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway to receive the money that the collectors, inquisitors, and crusade preachers had collected as well as to check their accounts.⁹³ In 1411, Pope John XXIII ordered his *nuntius* Jens Hennekesen Rynkeby, who was a priest at Saint Laurence's Church on Skagen, to preach a crusade in the three Nordic countries against King Ladislas of Naples and the anti-pope Gregory XII. The same indulgences were granted to those who vowed to go in person or gave money as for a crusade to the Holy Land. All payments to the Curia should go through Ludvig Baglione.⁹⁴ From about 1405 to 1450, the collection of crusade tithes and donations was leased to a couple of Italian merchants named Ludvig Baglioni from Perugia and his successor,

⁸⁹ *Corpus actorum et decretorum magni Constantiensis concilii*, ed. Hermann von der Hardt (Frankfurt, 1699), pp. 342–43 quoted by Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 334–35.

⁹⁰ DN, 17:167–74 (no. 198), at pp. 167–72, 173–74; APS, 2:162–67 (no. 936–39); APD, 2:112 (no. 943–45, 947–48).

⁹¹ DN, 17:167–74 (no. 198), at pp. 172–73; APD, 2:112 (no. 946).

⁹² Cf. above pp. 50–51.

⁹³ *Svenskt Diplomatarium*, 4:183–84 (no. 3061). Cf. APD, 2:177–79 (no. 1083–1095) and 2:180 (no. 1097).

⁹⁴ DN, 6:413–16 (no. 379). Cf. Housley 1992, pp. 248–51.

Gherardo Bueri. They settled in the city of Lübeck, from whence they controlled the collection of crusade taxes from all over Scandinavia.⁹⁵

On 14 April 1436, the Council of Basel decreed that everyone who contributed to the conversion of the Greeks would gain the same indulgence as those who visited Rome during a Jubilee or participated in a crusade.⁹⁶ The bishop of Växjö, Nicholas, who later became archbishop of Sweden, had been involved in the committee in charge of producing the letters of indulgence and he even headed it in 1436.⁹⁷ He was appointed *commisarius* for the execution of the indulgences for the church-province of Uppsala by the same council, and a letter of indulgence dated in September 1436 to a “vir N. armiger” in the city of Växjö carries his name.⁹⁸ At the end of the letter it is said that the Priest N. in Vadstena granted the same indulgences as *commisarius* of the bishop.⁹⁹ Although the indulgence letters lacks names, they bear witness to the fact that these letters and formulas were known in Sweden. It can only be guessed at how many letters of this kind were issued, but money certainly was donated. A certain Martinus Johannes, a canon of Roskilde, was appointed papal administrator of the indulgences by the Council of Basel in 1437, and the same year he issued a letter of indulgence to the nuns of Saint Clara Monastery in Roskilde for their support of the crusade.¹⁰⁰ In November 1441 the arch-dean of Århus, magister Johannes Ivari, the collector in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, gave Bishop Nicholas a receipt on behalf of the Council of Basel for an amount of money collected in Stockholm.¹⁰¹ The amount of money collected in Scandinavia may have been proportionally small compared to other parts of Christendom,¹⁰² but that cannot be taken as evidence of an indifferent attitude towards the crusading in general.

⁹⁵ Schuchard 2000, pp. 75–83.

⁹⁶ APD, 3:84 (no. 1761); Rep. I, 3:487 (no. 6815). On the Council of Basel and the North, cf. Losman 1970; Lindhardt 1942, pp. 65–92.

⁹⁷ *Concilium Basiliense*, 3:290, 4:96, 104–5. Cf. Lindhardt 1942, pp. 82–83.

⁹⁸ APS, 2:329–30 (no. 1171). Concerning the terminology, the distinction between *collector* and *commisarius* is unclear, but the latter tends to be more specific. The most common terms for collectors in the Vatican sources are *collector apostolicus*, *collector et receptor* or *muntius et collector*, cf. Schuchard 2000, pp. 17–18. In the following I use the term collector generally, but apply the term used in the papal bulls for individual collectors.

⁹⁹ APS, 2:329–30 (no. 1171), at p. 330.

¹⁰⁰ *Auszüge aus des Herrn P. J. Resenii Dänischen Atlas*, pp. 89–92.

¹⁰¹ APS, 2:336–37 (no. 1188).

¹⁰² Cf. Schuchard 2000, pp. 134–43.

In the second half of the century in the hands of a skilled collector the money came from Scandinavia to the Curia in much greater amounts. And international crusade plans played an important role in the internal political situation in Scandinavia in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The Crusade and the Teutonic Knights

During the fourteenth century, Danish kings had been in shifting alliances both with and against the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic. Kurt Villads Jensen has emphasized that the selling of Estonia did not mean that Danish interests in the area were abandoned.¹⁰³ In 1363, Valdemar entered into an alliance with the Polish king Casimir, directed against the Teutonic Knights.¹⁰⁴ Poland had increasingly become the *antemurale Christianitatis* against non-believers, seriously challenging, if not taking over, this position from the Teutonic Knights through a series of eastern conquests from 1340 onwards.¹⁰⁵ The Danish relationship with the Order turned to the worse during the struggle for supremacy over the island of Gotland. Margrethe paid a large sum of money to the Grand Master in return for the island, which the order had held since 1398, when they sent a large fleet to oust the pirates who used Gotland as a base for raids in the Baltic. A settlement was agreed in 1408, after Margrethe had unsuccessfully tried to win Gotland by force in 1405.¹⁰⁶

With the conversion in 1386 of the Lithuanian king Jogailo, who took the Christian name Vladislaus, and the creation of a dynastic union between Lithuania and Poland, much of the Order's *raison d'être* disappeared. There were, however, many who accepted the Order's claims that the conversion was a sham, and knights from all over Europe participated in the Order's *Reysen* well into the fifteenth century. Propaganda claiming that the Order was not engaged in a crusade, but simply fought to win territory, was written and published at the University of Krakow that was re-founded in 1400. The defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg in 1410 meant that fewer knights from Europe came to the Order's aid, and with the resumption of the

¹⁰³ K. V. Jensen 2000a, pp. 50–53; Moltesen 1896.

¹⁰⁴ DD III/6:404–5 (no. 411).

¹⁰⁵ Knoll 1970; Housley 1992, pp. 346–49.

¹⁰⁶ Albrechtsen 1997, pp. 138–40.

Hundred Years' War between England and France in 1413, only knights from Germany came.¹⁰⁷ The propaganda-war between the Order and Poland-Lithuania continued, culminating at the Council of Constance (1414–18). In 1415, the Polish ambassador Paul Vladimiri presented “a polemical onslaught”, on the Order presenting its war as unjust. The Order, he claimed, had no right to grant possessions to others which it did not possess itself. It had always fought an unjust war when it attacked unbelievers living in peace.

It is an error intolerable to reason that Christians should flock to the Cross-bearers of Prussia to help them to attack the peaceful unbelievers simply because they are unbelievers, whether their stated goal is ‘the practice of chivalry’ or ‘the expansion of the Christian faith’. For impiety should not be carried out under the pretext of piety. It is a different matter in the war which the Spanish wage against the Saracens, because that is aimed at the recovery of lands which once were held [by the Christians], and where Christians formerly lived.¹⁰⁸

This clause 33 of Vladimiri’s presentation was of course harshly rejected by the Dominican theologian John Falkenberg, who wrote the Order’s reply presented in Constance in 1416:

Paul errs in many ways, and spews out his error in his 33rd thesis. For ‘unbelievers are wicked to believers in any way they can’, as the gloss to 1. Cor. 6:1 has it. Whenever they have found a chance to harm believers, they always do so...neither with believers, nor amongst themselves, are they peaceful. So Paul’s thesis 33 is contrary to reason, and fighting ‘the unbelievers simply because they are unbelievers, to expand the Christian faith’, is lawful and may be done through charity.¹⁰⁹

As pointed out by Frederick Russell, Paul Vladimir did not want to discredit the crusade in itself as he acknowledged its importance for the defence of Poland’s south-eastern borders. He rather attacked the Order’s misuse of it. As Norman Housley writes, Falkenberg was much more extreme in his views than Vladimiri; he even called for a crusade against the Poles because they were not real Christians anyway. This view got him arrested in 1417, although it also won the Order some support.¹¹⁰ It did mean, however, that it opened up new possibilities for Danish political moves against the Order. Since 1411, Denmark had

¹⁰⁷ Housley 1992, pp. 351–60; Paravicini 1989–95, 1:41–45.

¹⁰⁸ *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 108–12 (no. 35), esp. pp. 110–11.

¹⁰⁹ *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 112–15 (no. 36), esp. p. 113.

¹¹⁰ F. H. Russell 1980; Housley 1992, pp. 360–61.

been interested in regaining Estonia. In 1419 Erik of Pomerania, who had taken over the rule in the Kalmar Union at his adoptive mother's death in 1412, entered into an alliance with the Polish-Lithuanian king with the declared goal of conducting crusades against the heathen enemies of the cross and to suppress their idolatry and stubbornness. Poland-Lithuania should assist Erik in his war against the Teutonic Knights. In return, he should support the re-conquest of Polish and Livonian areas that the Order possessed unjustly because they now cooperated with heathens, schismatics, and infidels.¹¹¹ Perhaps it was for this explicit purpose that Vladimiri's treatise providing arguments against the Order was copied at the scriptorium in Vadstena in the fifteenth century.¹¹²

In these years, Erik was also involved in a prolonged and hard-fought war on his southern border against the counts of Holstein to gain control of the duchy of Schleswig. The years 1415 to 1421 saw some heavy fighting but in 1421 a new truce was agreed and Erik's cousin and later emperor King Sigismund was chosen as an arbitrator to settle the dispute.¹¹³ In this way Erik's struggles to win Schleswig for the Danish crown became connected with the new crusade front within Europe that in these years opened up in Bohemia.

Crusades against the Hussites

When the head of the religious reform movement in Bohemia, Jan Hus, was captured and burned at the stake as a heretic at the Council of Constance in 1415, despite promises of a safe conduct, it was only the beginning of a conflict that for the next 20 years would see a series of religious wars and the opening of a new crusade front within Europe.¹¹⁴ The Czech-speaking lands of the crown of Bohemia, with a well-defined political community, had increasingly begun to view themselves in national terms, and this would now be connected to the struggle to uphold the reformed Hussite church.¹¹⁵ On 22 April 1418,

¹¹¹ Nowak 1971; Nowak 1981; Riis 1995; K. V. Jensen 2000a, p. 53 with n. 73.

¹¹² UUB: C43, fols. 25^r–43^v. At least the manuscript is of Swedish origin, dating from the fifteenth century, cf. MHU, 1:286–89. Erik of Pomerania sent two ambassadors to the Council of Constance, cf. Lindhardt 1942, pp. 16–44.

¹¹³ Erslev 1901, pp. 24–61.

¹¹⁴ For the history of the Hussite crusades, see in general Heymann 1975; Heymann 1955; Fudge 1998; Šmahel 2002.

¹¹⁵ Housley 2002, pp. 33–36.

Pope Martin V gave King Sigismund full power and authority to proceed against the Hussites using military power if necessary.¹¹⁶ When Sigismund decided to personally lead an army against the Hussites in 1420, Pope Martin V pronounced it a crusade. In March 1420, the papal legate read from the pulpit the text of the crusading bull, declaring the intention of eradicating “Wyclifites, Hussites, other heretics, and those favouring, accepting, and defending such heresies”, and that fighting this war for the cross would expiate all sins. Nature trembled at the prospect: A red circle like a stream of blood appeared in the sky, it rained blood, red snow fell, and blood-red crosses appeared in the sky in various places predicting a bloody war.¹¹⁷ The crusade as usual attracted knights and warriors from all over Europe. According to Lawrence of Březova, one of the town secretaries of Prague, 33 foreign nations were present in the crusade army, although apparently none from Scandinavia. Frederik Heymann comments in a note that “of the European nations and nationalities of the time only Scandinavians seem to have been unaffected by the crusading fever, whereas the fact that Italians are not mentioned is due to an erroneous or accidental omission by Lawrence of Březova”.¹¹⁸ As mentioned above, King Erik was involved in some heavy fighting in southern Jutland at the time, but it is difficult to see why the omissions of Italians was simply an “erroneous omission” while the failure to mention Scandinavians at the same time is evidence of a lack of a crusading fervour. It simply means that on the basis of Lawrence of Březova’s chronicle we cannot exclude the possibility that Scandinavians were present even if he failed to mention them.

In November, Sigismund suffered a defeat outside Prague and had to leave Bohemia.¹¹⁹ From then on, he had to deal with the revival of the Ottoman threat to Hungary and handed over the responsibility for

¹¹⁶ *Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus*, pp. 676–77. Cf. Fudge 1998, p. 91.

¹¹⁷ *Urkundliche Beiträge*, 1:17–20 (no. 12). Cf. Heymann 1955, pp. 109–11; Heymann 1975, pp. 593–94; Aschbach 1838–45, 3:47–48 with note 41. The decision for the crusade was taken at the *Reichstag* in Breslau, which gathered in the last days of 1419, during which 23 citizens of Breslau were executed for their heretical beliefs. Cf. also the notice in Herman Korner’s chronicle of the “Dominus et frater Iohannes Dominici cardinalis Ragusinus frater ordinis Predicatorum obiit in Moravia [1419]. Hic missus fuit a papa Martino ad predicandam crucem contra Husitas regni Bohemie hereticos”, Hermann Korner, *Chronica Novella*, p. 421.

¹¹⁸ Lawrence of Březova, *Kronika Husitská*, pp. 383–84; Heyman 1955, pp. 136–37 with n. 3. Cf. Heymann 1975, pp. 595–96.

¹¹⁹ Heymann 1955, pp. 136–47.

Bohemia to others. A series of crusades were conducted in 1421, 1422, 1427 and in 1431 which all ended in defeat despite efforts to improve both organization and tactics in order to overcome the Hussites. The crusade armies could not however match the military innovations of one of the Hussite leaders, Jan Žižka, who defeated the crusaders through strict discipline in his army, the use of field artillery, and most notably the war wagons that became the symbol of the Hussite military successes. From modest beginnings they were improved to a kind of movable fortress that could be put up quickly everywhere—often on hill tops—with trenches dug around the rectangular area formed by the wagons.¹²⁰ Another important factor was of course the religious zeal with which the Hussites fought. They believed they were engaged in a religious war against heretics, fighting for the true faith, believing that the soldiers would be martyrs if they died in battle.¹²¹ The central question and main point of disagreement between the Hussites and the Catholics was the communion in both kinds. Naturally, the Hussites adopted the chalice as their symbol and went to war under its banner, even considering the war as a kind of armed pilgrimage. In every respect, the Hussite ideology mirrored the crusade ideology.¹²²

In January 1427, when a crusade was agreed at the *Reichstag* in Frankfurt to attack the Hussites on several fronts, it was decided to bring wagons with the army to try and copy the Hussite battle tactics “to proceed to their [the heretical Hussites’] punishment, to the praise and honour of Almighty God, his dear mother Mary the queen of Heaven, and the entire heavenly host, and for the strengthening, advantage and benefit of Holy Church, the holy Christian faith, Christendom, and our gracious lord the Roman king and the Holy Roman Empire... As a result you will receive an eternal reward from Almighty God, and great praise and honour from all Christendom”.¹²³ As can be seen, religious and political motives as well as motives of honour cannot be separated from each other. In the end however the wagons were used

¹²⁰ Heymann 1955, pp. 97–101, 492–97. Cf. Fudge 1998 and 2002, pp. 124–26. Special boards were used as additional armour both on the wagons, their wheels, and between the wagons when used to form a camp fortress. For illustrations cf. Heymann 1955, opposite p. 178; Šmahel 2002, 3: pl. 13 between pp. 1094–1095.

¹²¹ Cf. especially the battle song of the Hussites published in Heymann 1955, pp. 497–98.

¹²² Housley 2002, pp. 33–61; Fudge 1998; Heymann 1955, pp. 374–83, 497–98.

¹²³ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 9:41–44 (no. 33), trans. *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 117–19 (no. 38).

for flight, when the crusading army panicked at the approach of the Hussite relief force outside Sříbo in Western Bohemia.¹²⁴ Following up on their victory in 1427, while Sigismund was engaged in war against the Turks in Serbia, the Hussites launched a series of campaigns into the lands of their Catholic neighbours called 'beautiful' or 'magnificent' rides.¹²⁵

In 1431, the *Reichstag* at Nuremberg decided on a massive army of 33,000 men to be put into the field against the Hussites, again planning to imitate the war wagons and artillery of the Hussites. The crusaders attacked simultaneously on several fronts, but again the main army was routed and the campaign ended in confusion.¹²⁶ At the same time as the crusade army entered Bohemia, the Council of Basel opened and leaders of the Hussites accepted the invitation to present their arguments. But without the external pressure on the Hussites, their internal factions exploded, which resulted in a defeat of the Hussite field army in 1434. It led to a compromise and settlement, and in 1436, Sigismund could enter Prague peacefully.

Denmark and the Hussite Crusades

The Hussite crusades have been largely neglected by Scandinavian historians, although they came to play an important role in Erik of Pomerania's struggle to win control over Schleswig. After the failure of the two first crusades against the Hussites in 1420 and 1422, King Sigismund again prepared a crusade in 1423. In 1421, he had been chosen as arbitrator between Holstein and Erik of Pomerania in their dispute concerning Schleswig. The crusade unavoidably became part of the Danish political situation. In otherwise excellent surveys by Danish historians of the political negotiations and their context, and the Danish question's relationships with the political situation in northern Europe, very little attention is given to the crusade.

A close relationship developed between the two cousins, Erik and Sigismund, during the 1410s, and in 1419 Sigismund even planned to come to Denmark. In the event developments in Bohemia prevented him from coming, but it would seem natural that Erik and Sigismund discussed the Hussite question and the crusade. In 1422, the Teutonic

¹²⁴ Heymann 1975, pp. 614–18; Šmahel 2002, 2:1408–33.

¹²⁵ Fudge 1998; Šmahel 2002, 2:1434–96; Housley 1992, pp. 256–58.

¹²⁶ Šmahel 2002, 3:1497–1560.

Knights came to Denmark asking for his support of an alliance between the knights and the Hanseatic Cities. Sigismund had asked the cities to give military help to the Teutonic Knights against Prince Witold of Lithuania, who was allied to the Hussites.¹²⁷ Relationships between Erik and the Hanseatic Cities were not at their best.¹²⁸ Erik blamed the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights of this and as mentioned above entered into an alliance with Poland-Lithuania against them. The Order's messengers warned Erik not to unite with the Polish king who "supported the heretics in Bohemia and threatened the Roman Empire and all of Christendom". Erik implied that he would view things differently if the Grand Master would talk with the Cities: "It would be preferable to us, if people said that the king of Denmark protects Christendom, rather than said he is against it".¹²⁹

At the *Reichstag* in Nuremberg in the summer of 1422 it was agreed to end all conflicts within the Empire as a precondition for the crusade. Among these was Erik's conflict with Holstein.¹³⁰ At the *Reichstag*, Erik promised to participate in the crusade.¹³¹ A mission was dispatched to Denmark and peace was negotiated not only between Denmark and Holstein, but also between Denmark and the Hanseatic Cities in June 1423, which must have been concluded because of or on the basis of the crusade.¹³² In March 1423, the treaty of Kesmark had resulted in the alliance of Sigismund and Vladislaus II of Poland and thus threatened the Hussites on two fronts. The pope, Martin V, called it "the best day of his pontificate" as the foundation had been laid for victory over the heretics in Bohemia—"who are more detestable than Turks and barbarians"¹³³—with the combined military strength of Vladislaus and Sigismund in a "sancta expedicione".¹³⁴ All came to nothing, however. Of the many European princes that had promised to take part in the

¹²⁷ *Hanceresesse*, 7:345–47 (no. 544–45); *Geschichtsquellen der Hussitenkriege*, pp. 19–20; Fritze 1961, p. 42.

¹²⁸ Erslev 1901, pp. 69–75.

¹²⁹ *Hanserecesse*, 7:324–25 (no. 512). In the Archives of Königsberg is an instruction to one of the messengers that he should ask Erik to support the Order against Poland, Erslev 1901, pp. 83–84, n. 8 p. 453. Cf. also Møllerup 1880, pp. 7–13. Erik and the Teutonic Knights made peace in 1423.

¹³⁰ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 8:215–16 (no. 179).

¹³¹ *Geschichtsquellen der Hussitenkriege*, p. 22 (no. 33).

¹³² Styffe, 2:lxix–lxxx, 210–18 (no. 85); Erslev 1901, pp. 85–95; Fritze 1961, p. 42.

¹³³ *Urkundliche Beiträge*, 1:321–23 (no. 284), at p. 323.

¹³⁴ *Liber Cancellariae Stanislai Ciolek*, 1:207–8 (no. 130). Cf. also Sigismund's letter *ibid.*, pp. 524–26 (no. 120). Cf. Šmahel 2002, 2:1277–79; Heymann 1955, pp. 357–60.

crusade, the only one that did in fact show up was: Erik of Pomerania. I cannot, however, find evidence for the version of the events of the historian Frederik Heymann to the effect that Erik “landed with an army in Germany but learning that no-one else had made preparations he returned to Copenhagen”.¹³⁵ But Erik did go to see Sigismund. Erik left Denmark in August 1423 and was in the following months often in the presence of Sigismund, who finally settled the case of Schleswig to the advantage of Erik. In December 1423, Sigismund again admonished the Cities to send the promised troops, but it only resulted in further discussions between Lübeck and its neighbours.¹³⁶ Shortly thereafter, Erik left for Jerusalem.¹³⁷ One cannot rule out, of course, that he did so as a commutation of a crusade vow, although a German chronicle from Stralsund gives the reason as penance for atrocities during the conquest of Fehmarn in 1420.¹³⁸ Erslev was right, however, to point to the fact that both Valdemar IV Atterdag and Margrethe I concluded important agreements to their advantage with great pilgrimages, but it was, of course, also the princely thing to do in the fifteenth century.¹³⁹

With Sigismund’s settlement of the conflict over Schleswig completely in favour of Erik in 1424, the political situation became very strained. When Erik at the same time threatened the Cities’ trade and privileges in Scandinavia with his financial and economic policy, the Cities entered the conflict between Erik and Holstein on the side of the latter. When Sigismund called a *Reichstag* in Mainz in 1426, also to address the question of the Hussites, he wrote letters to the Hanseatic Cities and admonished them to end their conflict with Erik as it threatened the crusade against the Hussites. But the legation of Konrad von Weinsberg sent to negotiate peace and mobilise Denmark

¹³⁵ Heymann 1955, p. 387 (repeated by Fudge 2002, pp. 174–75), who is referring to *Urkundliche Beiträge*, 1:321–23 (no. 284), which is a letter from Pope Martin V to Witold of Lithuania dated February 1424 that admonish Witold to take part in the crusade but does not say anything about Erik. The Czech historian Jaroslav Goll wrote in 1875 that Erik made preparations for war, which is likely in view of his promise to take part in the crusade, cf. Aschbach 1838–45, 3:183 n. 41b, 176–80; Albrechtsen 1997, p. 148; Šmahel 2002, 2:1278; Erslev 1901, pp. 76–104; Dahlmann 1840–1902, 3:111 and the royal itinerary in Lerdam 2001, p. 295. Cf. also Johannes Isaac Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum Historia*, pp. 577–78.

¹³⁶ Fritze 1961, p. 43.

¹³⁷ He returned in May 1425. For the pilgrimage cf. Møllerup 1881–82; Erslev 1901, pp. 104–8; Barüske 1997, pp. 163–77; Ibler & Fritz 2004; *Liber Cancellariae Stanislai Ciolek*, 426–29, 431–33, 465–71 (no. 62, 64, 79–80).

¹³⁸ SRS, III/1:295. Cf. Møllerup 1881–82, p. 715; Barüske 1997, p. 169.

¹³⁹ Erslev 1901, p. 105; Rogers 1961, pp. 23–25.

for the Hussite crusade failed.¹⁴⁰ In July 1427, the papal legate Henry Beaumont of Winchester—who was the paternal uncle of Erik's queen Philippa—came to Lübeck and again urged peace and admonished the Cities to make a settlement with Erik in order that their combined forces could be put to use against the Hussites.¹⁴¹ Simultaneously, Sigismund wrote to several of the Hanseatic Cities as well as other cities of the Reich and related how the war between Denmark and the Cities had badly affected the crusade effort against the Hussites, which resulted in several cautious admonitions from around Germany to initiate peace negotiations. The Cities, however, imprisoned a legate of Sigismund, Michel Honynger, who was dispatched to Denmark in the spring of 1427 to mobilise Danish support for the crusade, robbed him of his letters, and held him captive.¹⁴² Sigismund strongly admonished them to release him and to make peace with Denmark. If they refused, they would be punished as supporters of the Hussites.¹⁴³ Sigismund then sent Nikolaus Stok as arbitrator to the North on a peace-mission, but the negotiations, that lasted from 1427 to 1429 and involved the Teutonic Knights, came to nothing.¹⁴⁴ The Cities declared that they were fighting Denmark to protect their privileges and not to support the heretics.¹⁴⁵ They supported the crusade with both men and money but were not ready to end their war with Denmark.¹⁴⁶

At the *Reichstag* in December 1427 an elaborate plan for collecting taxes for the crusade against the Hussites was agreed on and put into effect. The letters of indulgence granted by the papal legate, Henry of Winchester, were to be made public from the pulpits.¹⁴⁷ This must also have happened in the realms of Erik of Pomerania. At least the *Reichstag* planned that the expected contributions from Scandinavia were to be gathered in Breslau. 18 February 1434 the Council of Basel imposed a five percent tax on the church in three Nordic kingdoms to be used for the crusade against the Hussites. Erik Bondesen, a canon

¹⁴⁰ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 8:476–80 (no. 395–96). Cf. Šmahel, 2:1408; Fritze 1961, pp. 43, 51.

¹⁴¹ LUB, 7:25–27 (no. 32).

¹⁴² LUB, 7:28–29 (no. 34); Fritze 1961, p. 45.

¹⁴³ LUB, 7:29–31 (no. 35).

¹⁴⁴ Fritze 1961, pp. 45–46.

¹⁴⁵ *Hanserecesse*, 8:283–85 (no. 427).

¹⁴⁶ Fritze 1961, pp. 46–50.

¹⁴⁷ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 9:91–110 (no. 76) trans. *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 123–30 (no. 41).

from Schleswig, was appointed as papal collector with the privilege of appointing sub-collectors. He was instructed to collect the money that had come in from the levy issued by Henry of Winchester earlier, which implies that the tax had indeed been collected in Denmark and the crusade preached following the *Reichstag* of 1427, if not earlier.¹⁴⁸ Material for preaching the crusade against the Hussites was also imported from Germany in the early fifteenth century including treatises describing the cruel behaviour of the Hussites.¹⁴⁹

Henry of Winchester was in Cologne in 1428, where he imprisoned the later famous and infamous Marcellus,¹⁵⁰ whom we will meet again later. He met with Ghillebert de Lannoy, who had been sent to Germany to negotiate a Burgundian led crusade against the Hussites. A detailed plan was worked out for a crusade led by Philip the Good, accompanied by Henry of Winchester, that came to nothing, but Philip's ambition to lead a crusade against the Hussites endured up to 1431.¹⁵¹ A preliminary paper written in 1429 stated that the only available leaders in Europe at that time were Sigismund and Philip of Burgundy, as Erik of Pomerania was involved in private warfare, Louis the count palatine of the Rhine was critically ill; the elector of Saxony, Friedrich, had just died and his son was only sixteen, the margrave of Brandenburg was also ill, and Duke Albert of Austria could not command the support of the other imperial forces.¹⁵² The meeting of Henry of Winchester and Ghillebert de Lannoy in 1428 did not result in a Hussite crusade, but the memorandum clearly indicates that Erik of Pomerania was considered one of the natural leaders of a crusade against the Hussites.

Bohemia was not the only place to see risings in the first half of the fifteenth century. In northern parts of Germany, Prussia, and the Netherlands there were risings in the 1430s. Within the countries of the Kalmar Union there were several risings among the peasants, especially

¹⁴⁸ APD, 3:65 (no. 1723); DN, 6:476–80 (no. 452). The letter is known from a copy in the breviarium of Vadstena.

¹⁴⁹ UUB: C188, fol. 212^v; C220, fols. 298^r–305^v. Cf. MHU, 2:72–83, 269–71.

¹⁵⁰ *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens K  pibog*, p. 157; APD, 3:225 (no. 2055); DN, 17:992–94 (no. 1040).

¹⁵¹ *  uvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, pp. xx–xxi, 164–66, 201–2, 227–49; Vaughn 1970, pp. 68–70; Schulz 1976, pp. 54–55.

¹⁵² *  uvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, pp. 250–53.

in the 1430s.¹⁵³ Erik of Pomerania needed money to finance his wars against Holstein on his southern border. The money was collected through increased taxes on the peasants in both Sweden and Norway. In the 1420s this resulted in complaints from the Norwegian peasants about the harsh tax collection methods of the Danish-appointed bailiffs. More serious was the increased criticism of Erik's rule in Sweden, that in the 1430s led to a rebellion in Dalarna where the peasants rebelled under the leadership of a man of the lesser nobility, Engelbrecht Engelbrechtsson.¹⁵⁴ The Swedish high nobility at first looked very anxiously on this peasant revolt, before entering into an alliance with the rebels, trying to put it to their own advantage against the Danish king and his policy of installing foreigners in Swedish fiefs. Traditionally, this has been interpreted as a national rising against Danish rule, mainly as a result of modern nationalistic tendencies. Recently it has been argued that the Swedish high nobility as such was not against the union but against the way Erik tried to conduct his rule in Sweden.¹⁵⁵ The alliance between the peasants and the nobility was fragile, however, and events clearly indicated that the revolt had obvious social overtones, which in the end posed a threat to the nobility.¹⁵⁶ A member of the high nobility murdered Engelbrecht during negotiations in 1436. Social risings continued in both Sweden and Norway. In Sweden, the peasants were defeated by an army of nobles in 1438 and their leaders burned at the stake. Due to King Erik's politics, the aristocratic councils in both Denmark and Sweden turned against him and he had to flee to Gotland, and was deposed in 1439. In Denmark, peasant risings began in 1438 and continued into 1441 when the peasant army was defeated by the royal army at "Skt. Jørgensbjerg" [St. George's Hill] in Northern Jutland by Christopher of Bavaria, who had been elected king in 1440.¹⁵⁷

It is very difficult to establish if the peasant risings in the Scandinavian countries had any connections to the Hussite movement in terms of a shared ideology. The Swedish rising was associated with images of a "national religious (peasant-)monarchy", as Anders Bøgh argues, in

¹⁵³ *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, pp. 606–10; Sørensen 1983; Albrechtsen 1997, pp. 176–87.

¹⁵⁴ Sørensen 1983, pp. 28–33; Bøgh 1988.

¹⁵⁵ Etting 1998, pp. 86–98; Albrechtsen 1997, pp. 186–87.

¹⁵⁶ Bøgh 1988.

¹⁵⁷ Sørensen 1983; Albrechtsen 1997, pp. 179–97.

which free peasants can live without taxes. It was believed that this kind of society had existed in the twelfth century during the reign of Erik the Holy, who during the fifteenth century became the national saint of Sweden.¹⁵⁸ The rebels even used banners with nationalistic symbols. In contrast to earlier risings, the peasants were united with almost all of the Swedish nobility because they had found common ground against the Danish manner of governing Sweden. There are thus parallels to the situation in Bohemia, although these should not be stretched too far. The rebels in Sweden did not fight for a reformed church, but as Anders Bøgh has pointed out religious elements did play a central part in their fighting for a reformed society with the aid of God and Saint Erik.¹⁵⁹ For outside observers, the parallel was much more obvious. A German who witnessed the peasant army camping outside of Stockholm at the outbreak of the revolt compared them in 1433 with the “heretics outside of Danzig” meaning, of course, the Hussites.¹⁶⁰ When the Swedish revolt was finally suppressed its leaders were burned at the stake, perhaps because they were condemned as heretics?

In Denmark, the risings have been analysed as the peasants’ reaction to increased taxation and economic pressure from the high nobility, but against the background of the common European economic fluctuations. In northern Jutland, the peasants chose as leader Henrik Tagesen, most likely a member of the lesser nobility. Why he allied himself with the peasants is not known for sure, but he owned land in the area where the rising began and his actions might be seen in connection with personal interests in his lands and conflict with a competing noble family in the area.¹⁶¹ There is nothing in the sources that directly indicates that a religious motivation on behalf of the peasants was connected to the political and economic motives, but it is very difficult to imagine that social motives were not mixed with religious ones, as in Sweden. Had there been preachers among the peasants who had put forth such arguments, it would most likely have been used by the authorities when they quelled the risings through use of force, but we have no way of knowing for sure. On the other hand, the success of

¹⁵⁸ See as an introduction in English: Cross 1957–61 and cf. below.

¹⁵⁹ Bøgh 1988, pp. 161–63. After the death of Engelbrecht there is evidence of his veneration as a saint, which was strenuously opposed by the authorities, *ibid.*, p. 150.

¹⁶⁰ Styffe, 2:259–61 (no. 103), at pp. 260–61.

¹⁶¹ Sørensen 1983, pp. 80–91.

the Hussites against the imperial crusading armies of course made such risings a source of great anxiety among the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and it was natural to see a resemblance.

In one particular way the rising in Denmark did resemble the Hussite movement. On the top of Saint George's Hill Henrik Tagesen constructed a wagon fortress just like those deployed by the Hussite forces. Contemporaries singled it out as the main characteristic of the peasant rising in Denmark. For instance, the Danish annals always mention the wagon fortress when describing the battle.¹⁶² In a diploma dated 1476 it is said that a certain person died before the time of "the battle of the wagon fortress in Vendsyssel between King Christopher and the peasants".¹⁶³ It is interesting to see this most distinguishing feature of Hussite warfare singled out as the main characteristic of the rising in Northern Jutland. There might, of course, be several reasons for this, not necessarily meaning that the rising in Denmark was likened to the Hussite movement. It might just be that such a wagon fortress was so rare or unheard of in Denmark that it was used as a reference point when speaking of this particular rising. Jørgen Würts Sørensen, however, argues that it sounds reasonable that large parts of Danish society had knowledge of the Hussite movement through the preaching and collection of crusade funds for the wars against them—although he seems to believe that there is no direct evidence for this from Denmark.¹⁶⁴ Hussite ideology may also have been propounded by individuals, as was the case in the North German cities. In the beginning, several cities experienced risings against the bishops, although the authorities seem to have been quick to get the instigators burned at the stake. The authorities of the cities supported the crusade effort.¹⁶⁵ Knowledge of the wagon-fortress and the Hussite cause thus reached the Danish population, and it would have been natural to copy this military tool which had proved effective in the hands of the Hussites against the imperial armies to fight the Danish royal army. At least one person in that army would have been familiar with the fighting tactics of the Hussites: King Christopher of Bavaria. He had been on a crusade against the Hussites

¹⁶² *Monumenta Historiae Danicae*, 1/1, p. 564, 2/2, p. 492. Cf. Sørensen 1983, p. 92.

¹⁶³ Quoted from Sørensen 1983, p. 92.

¹⁶⁴ Sørensen 1983. Cf. also Olesen 1980, pp. 20, 183; N. K. Andersen 1962, pp. 259, 266, 268. The theologian and church historian P. G. Lindhardt also believed that the risings in Bohemia and Denmark were closely linked even if there were no "religious connections", Lindhardt 1942, pp. 88–89 n. 384.

¹⁶⁵ Fritze 1961. Cf. Aschbach 1838–45, 3:48–51.

in 1431.¹⁶⁶ His experiences from the Hussite crusades—unsuccessful as they were—might just have come in handy when as Danish king he faced the wagon fortress on Saint George's Hill in 1441. Despite the settlement between the Hussites and Sigismund in 1436, the Hussite movement had not been quelled. The rest of the fifteenth century saw new crusades against the Hussites, which also left traces in Denmark.

In 1457, the papal legate Jacob de Marchia was sent to among others Christian I to invite him to participate in a conference on the Turkish crusade, but also to turn his heart to the Bohemian case.¹⁶⁷ Christian declared war on the heretical king of Bohemia, George Podiebrad, in 1461, and reproached him with many harsh words.¹⁶⁸ In 1465, Pope Paul II (1464–1471) issued a bull against Podiebrad that was also sent to Denmark, as well as a copy of the letter Paul II sent to the Emperor Frederick III, informing him of the legal proceedings against Podiebrad and admonishing him and other Christian princes to enforce the papal decisions against him.¹⁶⁹ Papal legates were authorized to preach a crusade against Podiebrad in support of the city of Breslau and all others who were threatened by the heretics in the same way as they preached crusades against heathen infidels and Turks.¹⁷⁰ There can be no doubt that the crusade against Podiebrad was actually preached in Denmark. An early sixteenth-century Danish prayer-book mentions a Franciscan crusade preacher by the name of Johannes—a legate of the pope and the bishop of Ferrara—who preached the “crusade against the heretical leader Podiebrad”.¹⁷¹ It is probably to be seen in connection with

¹⁶⁶ Jexlev 1979, pp. 385–86. Cf. the description of the 1431 crusade in Herman Korner's chronicle, where he speaks of the preparations for a “passagium generale et expeditionem universalem” against the heretics of Bohemia, Hermann Korner, *Chronica Novella*, p. 504. In the German additions to Korner's chronicle it is said for the year 1431: “Do stichten echt pawes Martin unde koningk Segemunt de drudden reyse jegen de Bohemeschen kettere unde de pawes gaff echtes sin aflat mit vorlatinge aller sunde enen ysliken, de in Bohemen toge ofte de dar wene sende edder sin gelt dar sende to hulpe. Dar wart do echt eyn grot heervart unde de cardinal Julianus wart des heeres hovetman. Men de hilge geist wolde noch nicht werken umme unser sunde willen enen guden ende to krigende unde dar umme beschickede dar dat grote heer vil kleyne”, *ibid.*, p. 549.

¹⁶⁷ WadAnn, 13:5–6 (no. 11), at p. 6; APD, 3:251 (no. 2106).

¹⁶⁸ Reg. II, 1/2:779–82 (no. 6301, 6311–14, *6326); *Diplomatarium Christierni I*, pp. 136–40 (no. 107); Lindbæk 1907, p. 60; Niitema 1960, pp. 233–42.

¹⁶⁹ *Geschichtsquellen der Hussitenkriege*, pp. 108–9; *Politische Correspondenz Breslaus*, 2:130–31, 133–34.

¹⁷⁰ *Politische Correspondenz Breslaus*, p. 131.

¹⁷¹ *Middelalderens danske bonnebøger*, 2:53: “alminneligh christen mænneskes vdfærd meth thet hellia korsses tegn imodh then kiætthæra høfdingh af podebrach”.

the bull of 1465, as he granted indulgences for prayers confirmed by Calixtus III. And in February 1471, Pope Sixtus IV commanded the papal collector Marinus de Fregeno to collect the money that had been collected for the crusades against the Hussites during the pontificate of Paul II and deposited with the city magistrates in Hamburg and Kiel.¹⁷² He sent his sub-collector Antonius Benedicti de Fregeno to Kiel, and demanded that they handed over the large chest containing the money for the crusade against the Hussites.¹⁷³ Finally, when the papal legate Thomas Gaetanus was sent to Emperor Maximilian and Christian II of Denmark in 1518 with the purpose of persuading them to participate in a crusade against the Turks, he was also to admonish them to work to eradicate the heresy in Bohemia.¹⁷⁴

The crusade against the Hussites in the 1420s thus became of great importance for King Erik of Pomerania's politics concerning Holstein and the relationship with the Hanseatic Cities. He promised to send an army as part of an international crusade against the Hussites, although new political constellations meant that it did not see action. The crusade against the Hussites was preached and money for it collected, which means that financial aid for the crusade came from Scandinavia. The Hussite crusades must have been in the forefront of the minds of authorities and people in Denmark, also when it came to dealing with the revolts that the kingdoms of the Union faced in wake of the crusades. There is nothing that suggests a "lack of a crusading fervour" in these years.

Christopher of Bavaria and the Crusade

As briefly mentioned above, Christopher of Bavaria participated in crusades against the Hussites prior to his election as Danish king. On New Year's Day, 1443, he was crowned in the Danish city of Ribe where he received the title of *archirex*.¹⁷⁵ The coronation ceremony is dated from the year of Felix V, which shows that that Denmark recognized him and not Eugenius IV as pope, thus recognizing the authority of the Council of Basel (1431–49). According to the Danish historian Johannes Lindbæk, the connection between Denmark and the Curia

¹⁷² APS, 2:558–59 (no. 1418); APD, 4:34 (no. 2511); DN, 6:616 (no. 578).

¹⁷³ *Monumenta*, ed. Westphalen, 4:3322; Lindbæk 1907, p. 78 with n. 2.

¹⁷⁴ APD, 6:216 (no. 4659); RayAnn, 12:209–10.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Olesen 1993; Niitema 1960, p. 212.

was almost broken off in the years 1440–1445, but as pointed out by Jens E. Olesen there were still contacts to Eugenius IV from various monastic orders like the Knights of Saint John, the Cistercians, the Birgittines in Vadstena, and others and Rome was still considered a respectable pilgrimage-site.¹⁷⁶ However, Christopher supported Felix V until his death in 1448. Denmark had therefore no role to play in the crusade plans of the early 1440s, which led to the ill-fated crusade of Varna in 1444 on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria. At the crucial point the crusade fleet that had sailed into the Black Sea failed to intervene, and the land army fought a bloody battle with the Turks outside the city, outnumbered two to one. Although the crusade army was not defeated, losses were so heavy that the Christian camp disintegrated. After the failure of the Varna crusade in 1444, the Turkish advances gathered pace and eventually led them to the gates of Constantinople in 1453.¹⁷⁷

As noted, Christopher of Bavaria received his marriage dispensation from the Council of Basel in 1445.¹⁷⁸ But by 1445 support for the Council of Basel was waning—although Christopher apparently remained a supporter of it to his death—and in April of that year Eugenius IV felt confident enough to dispatch three collectors to Scandinavia to collect Peter's pence and what had been collected for the conversion of the Greeks. He appointed the archdeacon Christopher in Uppsala, the cantor Simon in Linköping, and Nicolaus Bruckmann, *vice-dominus* in Cammin, as papal *nuntii* and collectors in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway respectively.¹⁷⁹ Nicolaus Bruckmann was to function as the papal legate for the Nordic kingdoms. He received his letters of recommendation and passport valid for a year for himself and four attendants on the same day.¹⁸⁰ But as early as 12 January 1445, Pope Eugenius IV sent the Franciscan friar Antonius de Troja as *nuntius* to Denmark, the province of Saxony, and other parts of Germany to collect money to cover the pope's great expenses in helping Constantinople, Hungary, Cyprus, and Rhodes against the Turks.¹⁸¹ There are, however, no traces

¹⁷⁶ Lindbæk 1907, p. 7; Olesen 1980, pp 228–29. Cf. Losman 1970, pp. 132–47.

¹⁷⁷ Imber 2006; Housley 1992, pp. 85–99; Setton 1976–84, 2:61–107. Cf. also Kayser 1885.

¹⁷⁸ Above p. 51 n. 86.

¹⁷⁹ APS, 2:337–39 (no. 1190); APD, 3:138–39 (no. 1874); DN, 17:456–57 (no. 569).

¹⁸⁰ APS, 2:337 (no. 1191); APD, 3:139 (no. 1875); DN, 17:457–58 (no. 570).

¹⁸¹ APD, 3:134 (no. 1866); WadAnn, 11:215 (no. 49). The day after Antonius received

of their work in Scandinavia either in the Danish sources or in the papal chamber,¹⁸² which of course does not mean that they did not reach Scandinavia.

Christian I and Crusades against the Turk 1448–1481

When Christopher of Bavaria died childless in 1448, the result was war between Christian I, who was elected as king in Denmark and Norway, and Karl Knutsson, who was crowned king of Sweden. The political situation between Denmark and Sweden is important to bear in mind when considering Christian I's attitude towards the crusades, especially in the first ten years of his reign. It is striking, however, how central a theme the negotiations for a new crusade were in the political arguments of the time. Scandinavian historians have focused on the *Realpolitik* between the two countries. The crusade plans have often been viewed as empty promises with no basis in reality. Even if this were true, one would still have to ask the question why this particular strategy was used. The purpose of this section will be to emphasize the crusade arguments in the political dealings of the time. Another important aspect to keep in mind is the strained relationship that developed between Christian I and the papacy during the 1450s. It developed over the Archbishopric of Trondheim.

The Norwegian Problem

The archbishop of Trondheim Aslak Bolt died in late 1449 or early in 1450.¹⁸³ The political situation with two kings made the election of a new archbishop a highly important political matter. The cathedral chapter elected Olaf Throndsen, but when Christian I came to Norway to be crowned in the summer of 1450 he disputed the election on the grounds that he had not been consulted. The king and at least part of the chapter then proposed Marcellus of Skalholt as the new archbishop.¹⁸⁴ Marcellus was probably born in Nassau and was a

his passport and letter of recommendation for himself, some other Franciscans, and two secular attendants, APD, 3:134 (no. 1867); WadAnn 11:214–15 (no. 48).

¹⁸² Lindbæk 1907, p. 13.

¹⁸³ He was still alive in November 1449 and the archbishopric is mentioned as vacant in August 1450. Cf. *Nye Danske Magazin*, 1 (1794), pp. 65–74; Werlauff 1819, p. 22.

¹⁸⁴ On this case and the sources to both the conflict and Marcellus, see in general *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*; Lindbæk 1907, pp. 23–53; Daae 1879, esp. pp. 52–70, 97–107; Werlauff 1819, pp. 23–29; *Den danske Kirkes Historie*, 3:25–32.

renegade Franciscan. In 1427, he was pretending to be a monk of the Holy Sepulchre and together with another Franciscan friar—pretending to be a Knight of Saint John—they collected money in the towns of northern Germany, claiming to be papal legates and carrying a false papal bull ostensibly collecting money for the ransom of the Cypriot king from his Saracen prison. In 1428 Marcellus was imprisoned by the real papal legate Bishop Henry Beaumont of Winchester in Cologne but managed to escape from prison—an event that happened more than once during his lifetime.¹⁸⁵ Rumours of his misdeeds circulated at the council of Basel.¹⁸⁶ He also managed to make friends, however, and was granted several German benefices. In 1448 he was called to Rome by Pope Nicholas V, who made him Bishop of Skalholt on Iceland by provision and nominated him *nuntius* and collector for the three Scandinavian countries.¹⁸⁷ He accompanied Christian I to Norway in 1450, where he was postulated as archbishop. He went to Rome for confirmation, but Nicholas V did not support Marcellus' candidature. On the contrary, Nicholas V annulled Marcellus' position as collector in 1450 and called him back to Rome immediately. Marcellus went to Rome where he stayed in the early months of 1451—not at the pope's bidding but on a mission from Christian I. In Rome, his former misdeeds were discovered as well as some recent frauds. In 1451 he therefore fled from Rome, but continued to fabricate false letters on his way to Denmark—among other things a letter making him archbishop of Trondheim¹⁸⁸—and the papal legate in Germany, Nicholas of Cusa, ordered him arrested. Somehow he managed to get out of prison again in 1452 and made his way to Denmark.¹⁸⁹

In 1451, the pope sent Bartholomeus de Rimbertini on a peace-mission to the north and at the same time ordered him to investigate the behaviour of Marcellus. In his report to Rome, Bartholomeus said that Christian would be amenable to accepting a new candidate for the archbishopric from Rome, and the pope accordingly appointed Henrik Kalteisen as archbishop of Trondheim on 28 February 1452.¹⁹⁰ Henrik Kalteisen was a German Dominican and the general inquisitor of Germany, and had been an important figure in the Council of

¹⁸⁵ *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, pp. xxiii–xxv; Daae 1879, pp. 58–59.

¹⁸⁶ *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, p. 137.

¹⁸⁷ Storm 1897, p. 98 (no. 166); DN, 6:538–48 (no. 512–22).

¹⁸⁸ *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, pp. 173–76.

¹⁸⁹ Lindbæk 1907, pp. 26–27.

¹⁹⁰ *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, pp. 135, 139, 187.

Basel, especially in the dispute against the Hussites.¹⁹¹ Bartholomeus must either have misunderstood Christian I or the latter changed his mind. Henrik Kalteisen arrived in Norway in 1453, but Christian had no intention of accepting him as archbishop. In his letters, Christian calls him *irreligiosus*, and he considers the rumours of his holiness and learning exaggerated. Marcellus and the king repeatedly accused him of being sent by the pope to create strife among the magnates of the realm and of having secret contact with the Swedes.¹⁹² Henrik Kalteisen admitted that Karl Knutsson had indeed tried to win him over by offering him money.¹⁹³ In a letter to the pope from 1453 the chapter of Trondheim reported that Kalteisen had become so unpopular that in the end he was only saved from physical abuse by royal officials, and the chapter asked the pope to accept his resignation. They threatened that if Kalteisen did not resign, all of Norway might apostate to the Orthodox creed—an interesting argument that Christian I was to put forward again, as we shall see.¹⁹⁴ In 1453, Kalteisen finally decided to give up his office, but only directly to the pope who, however, did not accept his resignation.¹⁹⁵ In 1454 Kalteisen came to terms with Christian I and agreed to resign his office and to receive a pension. In return, he was to go to Rome as Christian I's procurator at the Curia, "which was more important since Karl Knutsson had powerful supporters in Rome, which Christian did not".¹⁹⁶ But when Calixtus III was accorded the papal tiara in 1455, he immediately sent back Christian I's men at the curia with a letter to Christian telling of the crimes of Marcellus, and he confirmed the election of Henrik Kalteisen as archbishop of Trondheim.¹⁹⁷

The events resulted in a very unstable situation in Norway, which probably prompted the king to come to Norway several times during this period. It finally erupted in 1455 when the Hanseatic merchants in Bergen revolted against the royal official Oluf Nielsen. He tried to

¹⁹¹ On him cf. *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, pp. iii–vi; Werlauff 1819, pp. 30–31.

¹⁹² *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, p. 368; *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, pp. 99, 139.

¹⁹³ *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, p. 145.

¹⁹⁴ DN, 3:598–600 (no. 824); Werlauff 1819, appendix D and pp. 36–37; Daae 1879, pp. 100–1.

¹⁹⁵ *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, pp. 131–34.

¹⁹⁶ *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, p. 164.

¹⁹⁷ APD, 3:225 (no. 2055); DN, 17:992–94 (no. 1040); Lindbæk 1907, pp. 34–35, 37.

seek refuge in the Monastery of Munkeliy, where he was killed by a mob together with the bishop, Thorlav, and several other nobles and ecclesiastics. Christian I afterwards presented the matter to the pope as the result of the strife created by Kalteisen.¹⁹⁸ In a letter to the pope, Christian I described the geographical situation of his kingdom of Norway as consisting of different provinces with different dialects and customs, especially the northern part of Norway that formed part of the diocese of Trondheim, where the Christian faith was still rather new. Against this background he then declared Kalteisen utterly incapable of holding the office as archbishop because he was a foreigner, old and weak, unfamiliar with the country and its customs, and the language and character of the nation. Furthermore, as archbishop he had to rule in the absence of the king. In this capacity, the archbishop had to defend Norway against enemy attacks, and Christian I therefore needed a man in the office that he could have faith in. Christian I now faced a situation, he told the pope, where he had to either disobey the pope or face a revolt in Norway. He did not conceal which of the two alternatives he preferred. More spectacularly, Christian threatened the pope with the prospect that Norway might relinquish its allegiance and convert to the Russian faith. “We greatly fear”, Christian wrote the pope, “that the Catholic faith will succumb just as in the recent attacks by the Turks if Kalteisen does not resign his office”.¹⁹⁹ Kalteisen was almost worse than the Turks. Even this argument did not impress the pope. When Pius II was elected pope in 1458 he continued the policy of his predecessors concerning the Norwegian archbishopric and their attitude towards Marcellus. Christian I then realized that his continued support for Marcellus stood in his way of winning papal support for his politics, and traces of Marcellus’ influence in Denmark disappear. A few years later, he drowned.²⁰⁰ The years around the fall of Constantinople in 1453 were thus marked by a sharp conflict between the Danish king and the pope and between Denmark and Sweden, which is important to remember when reviewing the evidence for the preaching of crusades in Scandinavia in the early years of Christian’s reign.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ *Epistole Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 369–70.

¹⁹⁹ *Epistole Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 395–96, at p. 396.

²⁰⁰ Lindbæk 1907, p. 50. Lindbæk sees Marcellus as the main architect of the church politics of Christian I and even speaks of the period as “Marcellus’ time”.

²⁰¹ Also pointed out by Lindbæk 1907 and Werlauff 1819.

Crusades against the Turks and Peace in the North

Internal peace in Christendom was considered an important precondition for a crusade against the Turks. On several occasions the pope tried to negotiate peace between Denmark and Sweden and interfered in the political struggle in Scandinavia in the cause of crusade preparations. On 4 June 1450, the pope wrote a letter requesting the archbishop in Riga to work for a peace between Christian I and Karl Knutsson, because war would lead to “great misery and be a benefit to the enemies of Christendom”. At the same time the pope wanted the archbishop to work together with the bishop of Lübeck and the grand master of the Teutonic Order, to whom he had also written. The pope sent his envoy, the Archdean Birger Månsson from Uppsala, with further details.²⁰² Birger Månsson was appointed *nuntius* and collector for the three Nordic kingdoms to collect Peter’s pence and the contributions for the Greeks’ conversion on 12 June 1450. All former collectors and especially Marcellus were re-called. Marcellus was to present his accounts to Birger and thereafter immediately leave for Rome.²⁰³ It was thus one of the men of Christian’s main political rival in 1450, Karl Knutsson, who had been granted this important position. On his way to Scandinavia he was arrested by the king’s brother, Gerhard of Oldenburg, and was only released towards the end of 1450. For that reason, the letter to the archbishop of Riga arrived much later than planned. On the 15 October 1450, Birger wrote to the grand master from Lübeck and excused his not being able to deliver the letter personally and admonished him to start working for peace.²⁰⁴ The papal peace initiative should probably be seen in connection with preparations for a crusade in aid of King John II of Cyprus. Perhaps the situation did not favour peace between Denmark and Sweden in the 1450s in the name of a crusade against the Turks, but that does not mean that the effort was unimportant or unrealistic. And the pope did not give up because it failed the first time.

The pope had his eyes fixed on Scandinavia and was probably well informed of the political situation in the 1450s, not least because of

²⁰² APD, 3:176 (no. 1963); LEKU, 11:31–32 (no. 41).

²⁰³ APD, 3:176 (no. 1964); DN, 6:561–63 (no. 532). Birger Magni was sworn in as collector on 13 June 1450, APD, 3:176–77 (no. 1965).

²⁰⁴ Styffe, 3:xlili–xlv, 33–34 (no. 17); Reg. II, 1/2:713 (no. 5708), cf. *ibid.*, pp. 719–20 (no. 5759–60, 5769–70). He had also been appointed a canon in Roskilde (Denmark) in 1448, cf. Lindbæk 1907, pp. 19–20.

the Norwegian case. He seemed to have been very worried about developments between Denmark and Sweden. In June 1451, he dispatched Bartholomeus de Rimbertyni, an Italian Dominican, among other things to take action against Marcellus as mentioned above. But the main purpose of the mission was to keep the peace between Denmark and Sweden: The pope expressed deep sorrow for the many wars within Christendom, especially between Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. For this reason he had sent Bartholomeus to establish peace.²⁰⁵ Bartholomeus was certainly in Denmark in the autumn of 1451, but nothing more is known of his mission.²⁰⁶ In May and June 1452, a certain Enoch d'Ascoli, who had been on a "special mission from the pope" to Denmark and Norway, is mentioned in the accounts of the apostolic chamber;²⁰⁷ probably with the same purpose. It reveals that Scandinavia naturally formed part of the crusade plans of the fifteenth century. As a precondition for the crusade against the Turks, the pope worked for the establishment of peace on the northern frontier of Christendom. It must be seen in connection with other contemporary peace-missions to other parts of Europe, like the three peace-missions to France in 1451–1453 by Angelo Acciajuoli, working to put an end to the long conflict between England and France in the cause of plans for a new crusade.²⁰⁸ The political situation in the North was a natural concern in the international plans for the crusade against the Turks.

In the early 1450s, the pope issued a number of crusade bulls in aid of individual princes' campaigns against the Turks.²⁰⁹ The crusade bull of Pope Nicholas V in support of King John II of Cyprus' war against the "Saracens or Turks"—enemies of the Christian name—was issued in August 1451 and also sent to the Northern kingdoms. From May 1452 to May 1455 it was to be made public everywhere and this task was assigned to a Cypriot noble named Paulinus Chappe.²¹⁰ The recently-invented printing press was immediately put into use for the crusade, and indulgence letters for the support of this crusade were

²⁰⁵ DN, 6:567 (no. 538); DN, 17:987–89 (no. 1036).

²⁰⁶ He appears in the city of Maribo on Falster and in Sorø on Sjælland, cf. Lindbæk 1907, p. 22 n. 1. In July, the papal chamber paid "1200 fl. auri" to cover travel expenses, APD, 3:188 (no. 1986).

²⁰⁷ Iorga 1899–1915, 2:27 n. 3.

²⁰⁸ Setton 1976–84, 2:155–56.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Paulus 2000, 3:168.

²¹⁰ APS, 2:374–77 (no. 1232); APD, 7:370 (no. 5866).

printed in huge numbers.²¹¹ In 1454 and 1455, Paulinus Chappe and his sub-collectors worked in Scandinavia and the surrounding countries. On 6 October 1454, Paulinus Chappe issued a letter of indulgence to the Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein Adolph and his wife Margaretha for their support to the crusade of King John II of Cyprus and his defence of the Catholic faith against Turks and Saracens.²¹² In 1455, his sub-collector Petrus Mathiæ, a *vicarius* in Viborg, issued a letter to a person by the name of *Strongy*.²¹³ Another sub-collector, Konrad Winter, was active on Sjælland. On 29 April 1455, he issued an indulgence letter for Saint Clara's Monastery in Roskilde for their contribution to the crusade.²¹⁴ On the same day, a letter was issued to Peter Henriksen, who was a canon in Copenhagen. The printed year 1454 has been deleted and 1455 inserted instead in ink.²¹⁵ The money collected was placed in chests in the churches as usual, but the money collected in Denmark at least probably never reached the Curia or Cyprus. In 1455, Christian I personally went to the sacristy in Roskilde and confiscated the entire contents of the chest placed there, as he stated in the receipt he dutifully placed in the empty chest. It reads that he had taken all the "money, gold, and silver from the indulgence-chest of the indulgence that the holy father the pope had granted the king of Cyprus in help and comfort to withstand the Turk, who are the enemy of the holy, Christian faith". Christian took the money to the "comfort, use, and need" of his kingdom. Should the original letter of the indulgence and authorisation of the pope come to Denmark, he would be ready to give the money back and send it out of the country as it should be done. Until then, he had confiscated the 535½ "Lybske Mark [Mark from Lübeck]" contained in the chest.²¹⁶ It was probably not the only chest that Christian emptied. A Swedish propaganda piece written in the late fifteenth century or in the early sixteenth quotes as one of the many crimes committed by Christian I, 'bearing witness to his criminal

²¹¹ Cf. Paulus 2000, 3:168–69; Setton 1976–84, 2:158–59.

²¹² Rep. II, 1:128–29 (no. 395). For another collector Johannes de Castro coronato who was active in Lübeck and other places, but unfortunately went mad and had to be taken into custody, cf. Paulus 2000, pp. 168–69; Vogtherr 1997, p. 117.

²¹³ Nyerup 1820, pp. 224–25. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 214–24; Lindbæk 1907, p. 36.

²¹⁴ Rep. II, 1:153–54 (no. 478), cf. Nyerup 1820 for facsimile of the letter; *Auszüge aus des Herrn P. J. Resenii Dänischen Atlas*, pp. 89–92; *EdA*, 5:574; Pontoppidan 1741–47, 2:612.

²¹⁵ Rep. II, 1:154–55 (no. 479), cf. Nyerup 1820 for facsimile of the letter.

²¹⁶ *Danske Magazin*, 1 (1745), p. 352.

and treacherous nature', that he once confiscated a large amount of the gold and money of the "alms of God" that the papal legate had collected in Sweden as a comfort against the Turks. But even worse, he also took what had been granted to the archbishop of Uppsala of the same money for the construction of a new church—giving some indication as to the origin of the little treatise. Neither did Christian I desist from stealing the riches of the Swedish churches and desecrating them in his quest for money, which is described in vivid detail in this propaganda treatise.²¹⁷ According to the chronicle of the council in Lübeck, when Christian heard of the success of the papal collector Marinus de Fregeno, who preached the crusade in Sweden in the early 1460s, he confiscated all that Marinus had collected and only handed it back when he was promised half of what Marinus collected in the future, "under the pretext of his war with the Russians" as the chronicler Arild Huitfeldt added.²¹⁸ The confiscation of the money in 1455 is probably to be seen in connection with Calixtus III's decision in the Norwegian case, which as mentioned went against Christian in 1455, as was argued by Werlauff in 1819.²¹⁹ As will be seen, Christian later made the settlement of the Norwegian case in his favour a condition for his participation in the crusade against the Turks.²²⁰

The crusade against the Turks was preached and money collected, but as a firm peace with Sweden was not achieved and because of the conflict with the papacy over the Norwegian case, Christian did not actively contribute to the crusade in the early 1450s. Although Norway did not go over to the Orthodox creed, Constantinople did in the end succumb to the Turks in 1453.

The Fall of Constantinople

When Constantinople fell to the Turks under Sultan Mehmed II in 1453, it was indeed a great shock to Christendom, and it brought the "Turkish peril" to the forefront of public opinion.²²¹ The annals from

²¹⁷ HSH, 5 (1818), 3–17, at p. 10.

²¹⁸ In 1465, Christian I wrote that he was entitled to a third of the amount collected by Marinus, *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*, 4:292–93; Lindbæk 1907, p. 68. On Marinus de Fregeno cf. below.

²¹⁹ Werlauff 1819, p. 127.

²²⁰ Cf. below: "The Northern Frontier".

²²¹ Cf. in general Schwoebel 1967, pp. 1–29; Meuthen 1984; Thumser 1997; Housley 1992, pp. 99–103.

Roskilde recorded that “1453 the Mahumet [sic], the emperor of the Turks, took the great imperial city of Constantinople by storm after he had besieged and assaulted it for fifty days and performed much pitiful murder and other unbearable cruelty and evil, which cannot be uttered, causing many tears, groanings, lamentation, and terror all over Christendom and the faith nearly succumbed in Greece”.²²² Kenneth M. Setton has argued that the recovery of Constantinople rather than of Jerusalem now became the crusading ideal of the Europeans that “were moved to contemplate war against the infidel”.²²³ At least it meant that the object of new crusades had to deal with the Turks first before one could consider the re-conquest of Jerusalem, as this objective did not disappear from crusade treatises or crusade plans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It might still be mentioned in papal bulls and letters; and in letters of indulgence the indulgence formula continued to include the words “ad recuperationem Terre Sancte”. Still, it was obvious that the Turks had to be overcome first. News of the fall of Constantinople reached Germany in the summer of 1453. Aeneas Sylvio Piccolomini wrote to Pope Nicholas V on 12 July 1453 from Graz, where he had been with the Emperor’s court since May, on the “horrible news... of the loss of Constantinople—if only it were false”.²²⁴ Aeneas wrote:

Your holiness has done what he could. There is nothing for which you can be blamed, but posterity without knowledge of the facts will attach this disaster to your name when it has learned that Constantinople was lost in your time... Now we see one of the two lights of Christendom extinguished... Now Muhammed reigns among us. Now the Turk hangs over our very heads. The Black Sea is closed to us, the Don has become inaccessible. Now the Vlachs must obey the Turk. Next his sword will reach the Hungarians, and then the Germans. In the meantime we are beset with internecine strife and hatred. The kings of France and England are at war; the German princes fight amongst themselves. Rarely is all Spain quiet; our own Italy is without peace... How much better we might turn this abundance of arms and unceasing warfare against the enemies of the faith. I know not, most blessed father, to whom more than your Holiness this responsibility belongs. You must rise up; write to the kings; send legates; warn, exhort the princes and the communities to assemble in some place of meeting or to send further their envoys. Right now while the evil is fresh in mind, let them hasten to take council

²²² *Roskilde-Aarbogen 1448–1549*, p. 309.

²²³ Setton 1976–84, 2:142.

²²⁴ Setton 1976–84, 2:150.

for the Christian commonwealth. Let them make a peace or truce with their fellow Christians, and with joined forces take up arms against the enemies of salvation's cross.²²⁵

Nicholas V issued a crusading bull on 30 September 1453 that summoned all Christian princes to a crusade against the Turks and their ruler, Mehmed, "son of Satan, perdition, and death". In order for the crusade to succeed, the pope ordered (*perspicimus*) that "all kings and princes and all who hold dominion among the Christian people, to keep and observe the peace, on the authority of the omnipotent God". He ordered that peace should be kept all over the Christian world, and that ecclesiastical authorities should excommunicate those who did not uphold the peace.²²⁶ Although there is no reason to assume that the news of the fall of Constantinople did not reach Denmark in 1453,²²⁷ it is not absolutely certain that the bull reached Denmark as early as 1453. There is no evidence of papal preachers and collectors working in Denmark in 1453. A cleric from Schleswig is mentioned in 1453 as collector for the diocese of Schleswig, but nothing further is known of him.²²⁸ It would, however, seem most likely that the bull reached Denmark in 1453 and that at least the content of it was known. According to the German historian Georg Voigt, who in 1860 wrote that when the news of the fall of Constantinople reached Denmark, Christian I was convinced that the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II had to be the great beast of the Apocalypse that foretold that the last days and final battle were immanent, and he promised to participate in a crusade against the Turks.²²⁹ Voigt did not cite his source and to date it has not been possible to locate it.²³⁰ Despite this the response of Christian is very likely, and one perhaps does not need to search for the source any further than the crusade bull of Nicholas V, where "Mahomet" is likened to the "draco ille rufus magnus, habens capita septem et cornua decem et in capitibus suis septem diademata, quem in apocalipsi Johannes vidit".²³¹

²²⁵ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 19/1:22–23 (no. 2, 1–6) trans. Setton 1976–84, 2:150.

²²⁶ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 19/1:56–64 (no. 10); APS, 2:385–87 (no. 1243); RayAnn, 9:616–18.

²²⁷ It at least made an immediate impact on the chronicles of the North German cities, cf. Vogtherr, p. 114 f.

²²⁸ Lindbæk 1907, p. 35.

²²⁹ Voigt 1860, p. 35. From here it has entered the historiography being cited by for instance Pastor 1901, p. 607 n. 3; Schwoebel 1967, p. 4.

²³⁰ Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted, p. 341; S. T. Christensen 2000, p. 135.

²³¹ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* 19/1:60.

Emperor Frederick III called for several crusading assemblies to meet in 1454 and 1455 to discuss the crusade, and in Burgundy, Portugal, and Aragon kings and dukes were involved in the many great plans.²³² The first *Reichstag* to discuss the crusade was to be held in Regensburg in the spring of 1454.²³³ Duke Philip of Burgundy appeared with great ceremony, but the emperor himself stayed away. Duke Philip had just held the famous Feast of the Pheasant where most of the knights of Burgundy had sworn to take part in a crusade against the Turks led by Philip.²³⁴ Recent historiography has stressed the sincerity of the crusading ambitions of Duke Philip.²³⁵ That they came to nothing does not mean that they were insincere or unrealistic. Contemporaries did not view them in this way. Werner Schulz has even argued that the marriage alliance between Burgundy and Portugal with the marriage of Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal in 1430 was made in order to see his ambition of organizing a new crusade against the infidels come true.²³⁶

The emperor had also invited a number of other princes of the *Reich* and of Europe as well as the major kings of Europe to be present at what has been termed the first crusade *Reichstag*. The emperor naturally also invited the king of Denmark, Christian I, to send legates with suggestions and proposals.²³⁷ Christian I wrote a long letter in reply, lamenting the advance of the Turks that must be seen as a result of our sins. He had been greatly moved and much distressed to learn of them. Unfortunately, he would not be able to attend the *Reichstag* because he needed to consult his council in such matters and it could not be gathered in due time because his kingdom consisted of many islands. Besides, he was about to set sail for Norway “with an army against the attacks of our enemies, which we frequently suffer from”. But if anything was decided at this council concerning the crusade, Christian would love to hear it and see what he could do.²³⁸ It made

²³² Setton 1976–84, 2:138–195; Müller 1993, pp. 59–104; Ryder 1979.

²³³ Cf. *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* 19/1:94–111 (no. 14) for preparations and letters of invitation.

²³⁴ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* 19/1:140–93 (no. 19); Vaughn 1970, esp. pp. 143–45, 334–72. Cf. *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* 19/1:339–415 (no. 41).

²³⁵ Cf. esp. Müller 1993.

²³⁶ Schulz 1976. Initially suggested by Marinesco 1950.

²³⁷ *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, pp. 193–97; *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 19/1:96 (no. 14, 3). Cf. Niitema 1960, pp. 224–28.

²³⁸ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 19/1:194–96 (no. 20).

Aeneas Sylvio Piccolomini lament in his anti-Turkish oration given at the *Reichstag* that “Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians live at the end of the world, and they are not capable of doing anything outside of their homes”.²³⁹ The letter was to be delivered by Henrik Kalteisen, but on 23 April, he was still in Copenhagen signing a letter of recommendation for four Scots who had taken the cross after the fall of Constantinople, and in May he explained himself in the Norwegian case before the Danish aristocratic council, also in Copenhagen.²⁴⁰ But he was present at the next two councils that discussed the Crusade, in October in Frankfurt and in Wiener Neustadt in the spring of 1455.²⁴¹ In 1456, he functioned as crusade preacher in Germany but with no further contact with Denmark.²⁴²

The crusade bull of Nicholas V was confirmed and reissued in May 1455 by Calixtus III with more regulations concerning the crusaders, the different forms of support, and the administration of indulgences.²⁴³ Calixtus III had embarked on the construction of a fleet in the Tiber, even converting papal treasures into money to pay for it.²⁴⁴ Shortly after the publication of the crusade bull, Calixtus III wrote and admonished the papal *nuntius* in Sweden Birger Månsson to collect one year’s tithe of all ecclesiastical income that year to be used on the war against the Turk because of the fall of Constantinople. He was even to admonish the congregations to contribute. The pope also exhorted King Karl of Sweden and all the princes of the realm to work in support of the crusade under threat of excommunication and to place chests for contributions at the church entrances.²⁴⁵ On 16 September, Birger was allowed fifteen notaries to assist him during his mission to Sweden to ask and call for help against the “impious Turks, enemies of the Christian name”.²⁴⁶ He received further instructions concerning the collection of the money on 20 September and was authorised to grant

²³⁹ Quoted from Niitema 1960, p. 228. Cf. Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, p. 341.

²⁴⁰ *Erkebiskop Henrik Kalteisens Kopibog*, p. xii (no. 28).

²⁴¹ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 19/1:96, 194–96 (no. 14, 20). Cf. Niitema 1960, pp. 223–30.

²⁴² Daae 1879, pp. 103–4.

²⁴³ APS, 2:394–98 (no. 1251).

²⁴⁴ On Calixtus III and the crusade cf. *Il “Liber brevium” di Callisto III*; Setton 1976–84, 2:162–64; Housley 1992, pp. 94–112; Marinesco 1935; Paschini 1930–32.

²⁴⁵ *Sveriges Traktater*, 3:257 (no. 494); APS, 2:398–401 (no. 1252). Cf. Werlauff 1819, pp. 126–27.

²⁴⁶ APS, 2:401–402 (no. 1253).

indulgences to people who had contributed up to five Gold Florins for the crusade if they had confessed their sins in heart and words, and to grant a plenary indulgence “in mortis”.²⁴⁷ With Denmark, however, relations remained strained.

The Northern Frontier

As Christian had no luck with the new pope, Calixtus III, in the Norwegian case, he now began to pull his international strings. A series of letters were written to be sent with the Italian Geminianus of Treviso to a number of different princes in Europe as well as to several high ranking cardinals, asking their help to promote his case with the pope. In the letters, he painted a picture of his northern frontier where heathens constantly attacked his realm. In 1456, Christian I wrote to Alfonso of Aragon and told of the barbarians that lived near his borders and often attacked his Christian subjects. He wanted Alfonso to know how concerned people were in the northern corner of Christendom of the barbarian attacks. On his own borders he experienced a continuous war with the ferocious nations of “Tartars, Cumans, Erpions, Manbres, and Lapps”. They often gathered in hordes numbering 150.000 warriors and attacked his wide-stretching realm of Norway, where they plundered and raped.²⁴⁸ On top of that, his realm was also frequently attacked by Christians, whom the king of Sweden turned against him. Christian also feared that the king of England would make a move against his island of Iceland in the North Atlantic—where Danish and English kings quarrelled over trading and fishing rights—again in the near future.²⁴⁹ Besides all this, Christian I had a much more serious problem: The case of the Norwegian archbishopric. He accused the papal legate (Kalteisen) of conducting secret negotiations with his enemies. Now he requested King Alfonso’s help in this matter. Christian again threatened that if the case was not solved to his advantage, he feared that the Norwegian people might turn to the Orthodox faith (“Noricus populus ad ritum & observantiam se Ruthenorum contulerint”).²⁵⁰

Trevisanus was also instructed to handle the question of the nomination of a new bishop of Bergen. He should have the king’s candidate

²⁴⁷ APS, 2:402–404 (no. 1254).

²⁴⁸ *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 367–69, at pp. 367–68.

²⁴⁹ *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, p. 368. On Iceland cf. chapter 2.

²⁵⁰ DN, 17:1008–11 (no. 1047); *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 367–69.

Joakim Grubbe—a canon from Roskilde who, clad in armour, had defended his diocese when it was attacked by Breton and English pirates—elected to the bishopric of Bergen that had been vacant since the murder of Bishop Thorlav in 1455.²⁵¹ In February 1456, Christian had written to Calixtus III, blaming the strife and confusion created by Kalteisen for the murder of Bishop Thorlav.²⁵² In April he again wrote to tell of the sad murder of Bishop Thorlav and asked the pope not to excommunicate the innocent inhabitants of the diocese, and again asked him to nominate Joakim Grubbe.²⁵³ On 3 June 1456, the pope ordered the bishop in Lübeck to grant absolution to the merchants trading with Bergen in Norway who had been guilty of the murder of Bishop Thorlav of Bergen, two priests, and the knights Oluf and Peder Nielsen and their followers, and had burned down the Birgittine monastery Munkeliv, on condition that the murderers paid full compensation, undertook severe penance, and participated in the Crusade against the Turks.²⁵⁴ The Norwegian case thus in the end did result in actual contributions for the crusade! The pope, however, did not accept Joakim Grubbe and nominated his own candidate, Paulus Justinianus, to the see of Bergen and sent him to Scandinavia.²⁵⁵

Meanwhile, Calixtus III continued his efforts to organize a new crusade.²⁵⁶ On 11 January 1457, he instructed all papal collectors to send the money so far collected for the crusade (*sanctissime cruciate*) to John Solerii.²⁵⁷ At the same time, Marinus de Fregeno was appointed *nuntius* and collector for the Northern kingdoms in 1457, with instructions to preach the crusade and to grant indulgences to those who contributed to the crusade. Marinus also carried letters of recommendation to both secular and ecclesiastical authorities.²⁵⁸ His passport was dated 26 March 1457.²⁵⁹ He was to preach the crusade in the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, Lithuania, the provinces of Lemberg and Magdeburg,

²⁵¹ Above at pp. 72–73; *Den danske Kirkes Historie*, 3:30–31.

²⁵² APD, 3:226 (no. 2057–58); DN, 17:995–99 (no. 1041–42); *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 395–96, 409–10.

²⁵³ APD, 3:228 (no. 2062); DN, 17:1006–7 (no. 1046); *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 373–74; Lindbæk 1907, p. 42.

²⁵⁴ APD, 3:229 (no. 2064); DN, 6:577–80 (no. 551). Cf. DN, 17:499–501 (no. 615).

²⁵⁵ DN, 17:1006–7 (no. 1046); *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 373–74.

²⁵⁶ Setton 1976–84, 2:161–95.

²⁵⁷ APS, 2:409 (no. 1259).

²⁵⁸ APS, 2:411–419 (no. 1262–1268).

²⁵⁹ APD, 3:238 (no. 2085).

and the dioceses of Bamberg and Münster.²⁶⁰ The letter relates how Constantinople had fallen to the Turks and that the Christian faith was in grave danger. The pope therefore sent his envoy to ask the people to direct their eyes and minds in that direction as well as sending their subsidies to those troubled areas. With him Marinus carried the crusading bulls of Pope Nicholas V and Calixtus III.²⁶¹ At the same time, the pope sent a letter recommending Marinus de Fregeno and urged the kings and princes to participate in the great crusade against the Turks.²⁶² Likewise, the pope sent a letter on 4 April 1457 to the archbishop of Lund, telling of the decision for the crusade, recommending Marinus, and asking the archbishop to try and win the king for the plan.²⁶³

When Paulus Justiniani was nominated bishop of Bergen and sent to Scandinavia, Calixtus III also had another important mission for him to carry out. On 15 May, Calixtus instructed Paulus Justinianus to persuade the two Nordic kings, Christian I and Karl Knutsson, to make peace or at least agree a truce in order for all Christian princes to stand united against the Turks.²⁶⁴ The pope must have considered the assistance of the Northern kingdoms important, and continued the policy of Nicholas V. When Paulus arrived in the North the situation had changed, however. Christian I had been crowned king of Sweden in the summer and now resided in Stockholm. Contrary to his treatment of Henrik Kalteisen, he accepted the nomination of Paulus Justinianus to the see of Bergen without further ado. But the situation in Scandinavia still prevented Christian I from participating in the crusade. In September he wrote a detailed letter to Calixtus III, reporting his situation: "Consider, holy father, what has happened in my Northern kingdom recently".²⁶⁵ All of Europe had been subdued to a sacrilegious and blasphemous cult by Barbarians, Agarenes, and Thracians. These peoples also existed in the North! In the mountainous regions of Sweden and Norway, surrounded by forests that stretched all the way to the Russian people, they often attacked his realms in hordes

²⁶⁰ APD, 3:239–41 (no. 2087). He was given the privilege to appoint two notaries, *ibid.*, pp. 237–38 (no. 2086).

²⁶¹ APD, 3:238–39 (no. 2086). The bulls are found in RayAnn, 9:616–18 and 10:27–28.

²⁶² APD, 3:241 (no. 2088); RayAnn 10:112; DN, 17:506–7 (no. 620).

²⁶³ APD, 3:241 (no. 2089); DN, 6:583–84 (no. 554).

²⁶⁴ APD, 3:245–46 (no. 2097); APS, 2:420–21 (no. 1270). Cf. APD, 3:245 (no. 2096); APS, 2:419 (no. 1269).

²⁶⁵ *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I*, pp. 380–81.

of 150,000 and harassed the population with fire and sword and innumerable crimes. They desecrated the holy places and dragged people of both sexes into captivity. Christian I—like his predecessors—had fought and subdued them and made them pay tribute, and they obeyed him out of fear. The “Lapps, Mambries, and the Erpiones”, which were the names of these ferocious nations of the North, had, however, rebelled. These heathens and schismatics lived under the king’s peace, but they now rebelled at the instigation of Karl Knutsson, who had usurped Christian I’s sceptre in Sweden. Karl Knutsson had conspired together with these heathens and the Russians against the king, and Christian I therefore needed to defend his own *patria* the soldiers that he could otherwise have sent against the Turks. Karl had even threatened to hand over the Finnish frontier castle Viborg—“miro murorum & turrium”—to the Russians. It served as a defence against Russians, Cumans, Erpions and other nations that did not acknowledge the rite of the Roman Catholic Church. But Christian had managed to take control of it and killed or put to flight 30,000 enemies.

The picture painted in this letter is interesting. Christendom was under attack on two fronts. The enemy that attacked in the south also attacked in the north. Christian I had a crusade frontier of his own that prevented him from participating in the crusade against the Turks planned by Calixtus. Christian I and his ancestors had subdued the heathens and made them pay tribute, but they had now rebelled at the instigation of Karl Knutsson, who in the event became the great internal Turk of the North. This was appreciated by the Bohemian noble and poet-warrior Michel Beheim (1416–1475/79), who in the early 1450s for a short period took service with Christian I.²⁶⁶ He wrote several poems, in which he saw the Turks as the punishment of God and he strongly criticised the princes of Christendom for not taking action against the Turks. “Where is your strong might and power, Oh Christian, King of Denmark”, he asked and then explained “Sweden is your Turkey”. And for the strife created by Karl Knutsson, “Christians will lose life and limb”.²⁶⁷ The war between Denmark and Sweden thus had direct

²⁶⁶ *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim*, 1:70–72 (no. 24). Cf. for biographical details and his relations with Denmark, cf. Vangensten 1908; Scholz 1987, pp. 127–33; *Politische Lyrik des deutschen Mittelalters*, p. 330 and chapter 2 below.

²⁶⁷ *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim*, 1:342–50 (no. 238), at pp. 345–46: “O Cristian, chung aus Tennenmakt, / wo ist dein chrafft und macht so stark, / das du die ubel und das ark / so langsam hilfest rechnen? / Und wanest dach den cristen pey / mit prant und auch mit rauborey. / auf die Sweden ist dein Tyrkey, / o Carlo, kung in Sweden, /

repercussions for the Christians exposed to the attacks of the Turks. But compared to the other European kings and princes scorned by Beheim, Christian I was treated leniently. In another poem, written in 1460 on the poor condition of the nobility, Beheim mentions a prophecy that foretold the approaching end of the world. He stressed the need for the nobility to engage in the war against the heathens and the Turks, who had just killed more than 60.000 people in Hungary. No other prince would have loved to come in aid of Christendom more than Beheim's lord, King Christian of Denmark—"if only he had been able to".²⁶⁸

The pope replied positively to the picture painted by Christian I of his northern frontier. When the Swedes deposed Karl Knutson in 1457, Calixtus III wrote to the archbishop of Uppsala, Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstierne, on 19 October and gave his consent on the grounds that because Sweden was situated near the borders of the infidels, there needed to be an exemplary king. The pope accused Karl Knutsson of tyranny, offences against ecclesiastical liberty, and heretical tendencies: "nec non ob quorundam observationem rituum hæreticam pravitatem sapientum".²⁶⁹ The pope allowed the Swedish ecclesiastics to choose confessors who could grant them absolution for the offence of taking up arms against Karl Knutson—an act they for which they rather deserved praise.²⁷⁰ The accusation of heresy should probably be seen in connection with Christian I's accusations that Karl Knutsson had allied himself with the Russians.²⁷¹ On 18 November 1457, Christian I wrote to one of the cardinals in Rome and expressed the hope that the bad rumours about him that were circulating in Rome had been extinguished (*delatos esse*) by the king's actions, and he told how he had expelled his worst enemy, the most rebellious disturber of the peace of the northern kingdoms, from the kingdom of Sweden, and had been elected and crowned king of all the kingdoms of the North and restored a peaceful reign.²⁷²

dein laster hor ich reden, / das du machest so gross czwitrecht, / wann Sweden hastu wider recht. / da durch vil cristen, riter, knecht / leib und leben verczeechen". Cf. *ibid.*, 3/1:290–92 (no. 446). The poem should probably be dated between 1453 and 1457. Other anti-Turkish poems are found *ibid.*, 1:335–41 (no. 237), 350–53 (no. 239). Cf. also *Politische Lyrik des deutschen Mittelalters*, esp. pp. 219–26, 226–28, 232–56.

²⁶⁸ *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim*, 1:280–85 (no. 98), at p. 282.

²⁶⁹ APD, 3:250 (no. 2104); RayAnn, 10:122–23.

²⁷⁰ APD, 3:250–51 (no. 2105); *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 414–16.

²⁷¹ Suggested by Werlauff 1819, p. 79.

²⁷² *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 386–87, at p. 386: "speramus rei geste apud vos rumores delatos esse, qvaliter satis suffragantibus superis nos armis & viribus hostem

With peace on the northern frontier, the pope ordered his crusade preacher the Franciscan friar Jacobus de Marchia on 25 October 1457 to address the emperor and the kings of Hungary, Bosnia, Poland, and Denmark, and admonish them to send legates to the planned crusade congress concerning a crusade against the Turks.²⁷³ Christian wrote to the pope that he accepted the nomination of Paulus Justinianus as bishop of Bergen on 17 November,²⁷⁴ and only nine days later he was sent to the pope with his answer concerning the crusade. Christian I lamented the attacks of the pagans on Christendom and that Christ allowed the Christian sheep to suffer the tyrannous and perfidious bottomless pit of Muhammad.²⁷⁵ He had therefore sent his procurator Paulus Justinianus to the pope to tell of the innumerable heathen and infidel peoples who surrounded his realm and plotted against him day and night. In order for Christian I to be able to think of the crusade, he needed the pope's help in settling the Norwegian case and in his relations with the Teutonic Knights.²⁷⁶ The same year, Christian I wrote to the duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, and told of the attacks on his realms, Sweden and Norway, by the heathens. He also told of the war with Karl Knutsson, who had been unjustly elected King of Sweden. Christian I had defeated him and subjugated the lands all the way to the Russians and Bulgarians. He informed Sforza that since his kingdom of Sweden stretched over so vast distances both on land and on sea, it was actually not very distant from the lands of the Turks or Thracians, and that he intended to go to war with these ethnic and perfidious infidels. He therefore wanted Francesco Sforza to support his envoy, Paulus Justinianus, who had been sent to the pope concerning this matter.²⁷⁷

Fortunately, the instructions that Paulus Justinianus was given by Christian I on what to answer to the pope concerning the crusade against the Turks have survived. It is an interesting document on the

nostrum ferocissimus, Regnorum aqvilonarium seditiosissimum turbatorem a regnis Svecie propulimus fugitivum, & vocatus electusque concorditer & coronatus in Regem integrum regni totius optinemus pacifice dominatum”.

²⁷³ APD, 3:251 (no. 2106); WadAnn 13:5–6 (no. 11).

²⁷⁴ APD, 3:251–52 (no. 2108); DN, 17:1023–24 (no. 1058); *Epistole Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 378–79.

²⁷⁵ APD, 3:253 (no. 2113); DN, 17:1030–31 (no. 1063); *Epistole Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 377–78.

²⁷⁶ DN 17:1030–31; *Epistole Regis Christiani I.*, p. 378.

²⁷⁷ DN, 17:1017–18 (no. 1053); *Epistole Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 381–82.

political thinking of the time. It underlines that the Turks did play a role also for the political situation in the North.²⁷⁸ First, Paulus should praise Calixtus' "holy intention", i.e. the plan for a new crusade, and explain that Christian I was amazed and full of sorrow to learn that the Christian princes could not be persuaded to support such a necessary and salvational undertaking. Second, he should inform the pope of the situation and geographical placing of Christian I's lands, especially Sweden and Norway. He should relate how they were situated 30.000 "stadier" from the lands of the Turks and bordered on different heathen peoples, how the adjacent regions of mountains and forests were inhabited by forest peoples, Russians, and several other nations of different rites.²⁷⁹ These peoples often gathered in multitudes of 150.000 and frequently attacked his kingdom and put the population to the fire and the sword and plundered even though—by the help of God and Saint Olaf—they for the larger part been subjugated and paid tribute to Christian I. But beside the insults of the heathens, which were as said serious enough in themselves (*ut dictum est gravati*), Paulus should relate how the realm had been exposed to war and molested, especially by Karl Knutsson, who had turned the Russians against Christian I. In support of the "faithful and religious undertaking" and in support of the pope's war against the Turks, he had allowed 6.000 men to go from his kingdom through Hungary "*in subsidium fidei*". But Karl Knutsson had allied himself with the Russians and the heathens and hindered their passage as well as the good intent of Christian I. To answer the pope's letters regarding what kind of help he could expect from Christian's kingdom for the army that was to be used against the Turks, Paulus should relate first that Christian I estimated that he would be capable of sending 200.000 men for the crusade. It depended, however, on many different circumstances. Second, he discussed which route was the best to take in order to go against the Turks. There were two ways: One went through Hungary, but Christian I would not recommend that way. It led through many different regions with different rulers and the safety and accommodation of the army could not be assured. It also meant sending the army by ship to Germany first and then the supplies afterwards. The other way went through Russia, which was connected to Sweden and Norway, which meant that all transport could be made

²⁷⁸ DN, 17:1027–30 (no. 1062); *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 390–92.

²⁷⁹ DN, 17:1028; *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 390–91.

over land. This route would be easier, shorter, and more convenient, because on its way through Sweden the army could be supplied more easily, and victuals, munitions, and not to mention water would be easy to transport from Norway to the interior of Russia. This would be the best route to take. It just required that 1) the pope would manage to negotiate peace between Christian and the Polish king, with whom he had some quarrels concerning the defence of the Teutonic Knights so that it would not come to fighting while passing through these lands: “quia in transitu nostro in certa parte Russie sibi subdita posset inter nostros & suos pugna gravis committi”;²⁸⁰ 2) that the Norwegian case be settled satisfactorily, otherwise neither the gathering nor the transfer of the army would be possible; 3) the army should be strong and numerous since it would have to be able to withstand the Russians if they wanted to get in its way. It would be very useful for the crusade to have it preached to the public. For this reason, one or more people, who were familiar with the languages and customs of these regions, should be commissioned to preach the crusade. But for it all to succeed, the pope had to give his consent to this plan. The instruction is dated 22 November 1457 in Stockholm.²⁸¹ It is obvious that Christian I’s participation in a crusade, which could indeed be substantial, was made totally dependent on his full control of Sweden and Norway.

Before the pope received this answer he was confident that help would come from Scandinavia. In a letter dated 20 November 1457, the pope urged his legate, the cardinal John of Sanctus Angelus, to keep reporting on the progress of the crusade against the Turks. He also informed him that he had written to the emperor and several European kings and princes, among others the Danish and Swedish kings, and asked for help. He very much hoped that they would respond positively.²⁸² In December, the pope wrote to the legate, who was with the crusade fleet, that he had written to among others the kings of Sweden and Denmark and asked for help, and that reinforcements for the fleet were

²⁸⁰ DN, 17:1029; *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, p. 391. Michel Beheim hinted at the political situation with the Teutonic Knights and the King of Poland in one of his poems in connection with the crusade against the Turks and heathens. He wondered why the nobles of Christendom had stopped participating in the Order’s *reysen*. The Order had problems with the Polish king, who fought unjustly against them and God, *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim*, 1:280–85 (no. 98), at p. 282. He then made the remark that Christian I would come to their aid if only he had been able to, cf. above.

²⁸¹ *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 391–92.

²⁸² APS, 2:421–23 (no. 1272); *Il “Liber brevium” di Callisto III*, no. 196, p. 132.

expected or coming soon.²⁸³ These letters are another indication that the pope believed that help would come from the Northern kingdoms. There can be no doubt that the pope sincerely believed in these reinforcements, at least in the form of cash.

The letters and instructions from the pope and Denmark must have crossed each other in the mail. The matter with Poland had not been settled as Christian declared war on Poland “to protect the Teutonic Knights”, as he wrote to the pope in February 1458.²⁸⁴ In May 1458, Christian then wrote to Calixtus III and informed him that he had received his letters concerning the crusade. Christian I deeply lamented the onslaught of the Tatars (i.e. Turks) and stressed how badly he wanted to be able to join the crusade. But his northern kingdoms were also on fire.²⁸⁵ The borders of his kingdoms of Norway and Sweden extended very far. Heathen and pagan peoples of many different kinds constantly threatened his kingdom. He also had to deal with the Russians, who invaded his lands with the aid of the Tartars that lived near them. The enemy that attacked in the south was also a problem in the north, and Christian I thus had his own crusade frontier. He also stressed that the Prussian subjects of the Teutonic Knights had rebelled and also conducted pirate raids against the lands of Christian I. But through the messenger he had sent to Rome, he had learned that the pope had no deal to offer that would satisfy him.

Calixtus died in early August 1458 and was succeeded by Aeneas Sylvio Piccolomini, who took the name Pius II. All his life he had been engaged in the efforts to organize crusades against the Turks. As early as at the Council of Basel in 1436, he had delivered an oration in which he lamented the power of the Turks, but in particular the orations he delivered to the crusade *Reichstags* of 1454 and 1455 were famous. They described in detail the Turks’ atrocities at Constantinople, using Urban II’s famous speech as a model. Several were printed in his own time.²⁸⁶ Soon after his coronation, he renewed the declarations of crusade tithes

²⁸³ APS, 2:424–26 (no. 1274); *Il “Liber brevium” di Callisto III*, nos. 321, 326, pp. 178, 180–81.

²⁸⁴ APD, 3:256 (no. 2119); *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I*, pp. 383–84. Cf. also the chronicle of Arild Huitfeldt, *Christian I’s Historie*, DRK, 4:64–75 for Christian I’s war with Poland, which is presented as a war for religion against the enemies of Christendom, and Paulus Justinianus is praised for organizing a “cruciata” against the Turks.

²⁸⁵ *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I*, pp. 406–7; APD, 3:258–59 (no. 2127); DN, 17:1034–36 (no. 1066).

²⁸⁶ Cf. below.

of his predecessors and made his intention to organize a crusade council in Mantua in June 1459 known. Christian I was also invited, and in June 1459 he wrote Pius II lamenting the progress of the Turks, but regretted that he would not be able to attend the crusade because he had received the letters too late to gather his council.²⁸⁷

In his series of letters to European princes, cardinals, and the successive popes, Christian I painted a picture of his realms as having a crusade frontier, which was exposed to attacks from heathens and infidels that were either directly or indirectly associated with the Turks' attacks on Christendom in the south. In a European context, this made sense. Christian I, like any other prince in Europe, used the crusade plans to forward his own political ambitions, but ideology was as inseparable from pragmatic and commercial considerations and political calculations then as it is today. Every prince and delegation that did show up at the congress in Mantua had their own agenda, and made their participation in the crusade dependent on certain political conditions being fulfilled.²⁸⁸ Whether political or religious motives were the most important is very difficult to determine. It is not the purpose here and probably beside the point. The important conclusion is that Christian I tried to gain support for his Scandinavian policies by promising to take part in a crusade, or that he was prevented from taking part due to other problems or enemies that needed to be overcome first. Promises to take part in the crusade must have been powerful political declarations with many further implications no matter their results, as the Danish historian Kurt Villads Jensen has argued.²⁸⁹ This will be stressed further in the following paragraphs.

It is doubtful that Christian I would have been able to raise 200,000 men for the crusade. And it is equally unlikely that his kingdom was attacked by 150,000 "heathens". But the numbers are also found in other contemporary sources. During the negotiations to raise an army to counter the Turks in the wake of the fall of Constantinople, Nicholas of Cusa wrote to the crusade preacher John Capistran, who was very committed to the crusade and worked hard to organize the defense

²⁸⁷ *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I*, pp. 413–14; APD, 3:278–79 (no. 2167); DN, 17:1044–46 (no. 1074).

²⁸⁸ J. G. Russell 1992, pp. 51–93; Setton 1976–84, 2:204–30.

²⁸⁹ K. V. Jensen 2000a, p. 60. Cf. also Schwoebel 1967, p. 34: "Thus the crusade talk and promises of princes and diplomats must not be dismissed as so much self-supporting publicity, although the latter was not lost upon the more astute politicians among them".

of Hungary in the years immediately after the fall of Constantinople, from the diet of Ratispon on 28 May 1454 urging him to work for a reconciliation between Poland and Prussia that their arms may be turned against the Turks. On 16 August 1454, Cardinal Sbignev of Krakow, wrote to him concerning the same problem. If the quarrel between Prussia and Poland were resolved, he argued, Poland could raise an army of 200.000 men to fight the Turks.²⁹⁰ When the Florentine humanist Benedetto Accolti wrote his history of the First Crusade in 1463–64, based on medieval sources, he often greatly exaggerated the numbers involved in battles and armies. For instance, he wrote that the Muslim general Kerbogha's army at Antiochia in 1098, which was in the end defeated by the first crusaders, numbered 150.000 men.²⁹¹ Christian I—or Marcellus—could not have known Accolti's work in the 1450s, and I do not intend to argue that these examples make the numbers found in the letters of Christian I more realistic. But they make these letters part of an international contemporary crusade discourse, which means that we have to take both the letters and their contents more seriously than historians in general have been willing to do.

Even if the Christian I failed to sent soldiers for the crusade, individual crusaders did take part in the war against the Turks in these years like “her Hennik auss Tennemark”, who was present in the crusade army that managed to prevent the Turks from capturing Belgrade in 1456. According to the poem of Michel Beheim describing his own participation in the crusade, “her Hennik” apparently held a prominent position and functioned as one of the commanding officers.²⁹² The victory at Belgrade was recorded in the *Annals of Roskilde*, which told of the “great victory granted by God Almighty” where “40.000 Turks fell” and even more put to flight “undoubtedly by the angels of God”.²⁹³ Another indication that crusading and individual participation in crusades might not have been so uncommon is that Danish church law ruled that during interdict the Eucharist was to be allowed in two instances only: on the deathbed or if people were leaving for the cru-

²⁹⁰ WadAnn, 12:198–202, 210; Schwoebel 1967, pp. 41–44. Cf. Housley 2004.

²⁹¹ Benedetto Accolti, *De bello*, p. 559; Black 1985, esp. pp. 225, 305–6.

²⁹² *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim*, 2:674–705 (no. 328), at p. 703. On the miraculous relief of Belgrade in 1456 cf. Setton 1976–84, 2:161–95; Housley 2004.

²⁹³ *Roskilde-Aarbogen 1448–1549*, pp. 309–10. Perhaps the victory was also celebrated in processions and sermons like in England, cf. Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci et libro veritatum*, pp. 8–9, 48, 103–4, 206–7; Schwoebel 1967, pp. 48–49.

sades or going to war (“qui cruce signati, seu ad bellum ituri sunt”).²⁹⁴ Towards the end of the 1450s, Denmark’s political relationship with the Curia was improving. And with the nomination of Marinus de Fregeno as collector and preacher of the crusade in the North, financial support from Scandinavia for the crusade began to increase.

The Collection of Funds by Marinus de Fregeno

While negotiations for Danish participation in the crusade did not result in concrete action on the part of Christian I, the crusade preacher Marinus de Fregeno had been busy. In June 1458, Calixtus III wrote and ordered him to hand over the money he had collected to Conrad Pangrotier in Nuremberg. The pope had already sent to the crusade fleet 6.000 ducats that had been paid out by Peter and John de Medici, with security in the amount that Marinus had told the pope he had collected in the North. But recently the pope had received “sinistras et malas informationes” through reliable persons concerning Marinus and therefore ordered him to hand over the money.²⁹⁵ At the same time, Calixtus ordered the persons to whom Marinus had consigned the money to hand it over to Conrad Pangrotier.²⁹⁶ The pope’s expectations of the amount Marinus had collected in Scandinavia might, of course, have been raised through false reports by Marinus, but apparently he had indeed managed to collect a large amount. When Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini was elected as Pope Pius II, he renewed Marinus’ privileges as collector in the North.²⁹⁷ But shortly afterwards he dispatched John Lochner, a provost of Nuremberg, to Marinus to gather the money the latter had collected for the crusade in the three Nordic kingdoms and to deposit the funds with Pangrotier.²⁹⁸ John Lochner had been sent to investigate the accounts of Marinus as is testified from another letter, in which the pope asked him not to take action against Marinus, as he had promised to come to the pope in person. Instead, Lochner should assist him in recovering the collected money and deposit it with Conrad Pangrotier.²⁹⁹ The pope at this time expected Marinus to deposit

²⁹⁴ GkS 1129 2^o, fol. 2iir; Thorkelin 1781, p. 74; Lindhardt 1942, pp. 93–101, 112–13. From the synodal statutes from Århus written before 1441 based on older material.

²⁹⁵ APD, 3:259–60 (no. 2130); APS, 2:427–28 (no. 1277).

²⁹⁶ APD, 3:259–60 (no. 2131); APS, 2:428 (no. 1278).

²⁹⁷ APS, 2:428–29 (no. 1279).

²⁹⁸ APS, 2:430–32 (no. 1280); APD, 3:273 (no. 2154); DN, 17:520–23 (no. 634).

²⁹⁹ APS, 2:432 (no. 1281); APD, 7:466 (no. 5919).

13.000 florins. It must have had some effect, as the following month, in April, Peter and John de Medici received 6.000 florins of the 10.000 the apostolic chamber owed them, paid by Marinus in Germany.³⁰⁰

Marinus' accounts must have pleased the pope as he once again appointed Marinus as general collector in Scandinavia in July 1459, renewed the crusade indulgences of Calixtus III, and gave him letters of recommendation. At the same time, the investigations of John Lorchner were stopped. Jacob Carmigniola was appointed as treasurer and receiver of the money Marinus collected. Regulations for their different obligations were instituted for their mutual control and for the number of their helpers and travel expenses. Marinus was allowed nine mounted servants. He should hire crusade preachers and chancellors, as well as give the princes an amount of the money collected in accordance with the agreements made with them.³⁰¹ On 14 January 1460, the pope announced that since the calls to a crusade by Nicholas V and Calixtus III had been in vain, the council of Mantua had agreed to a crusade of three years against the Turks for the liberation of the Holy Land, and granted indulgences to those who supported this undertaking.³⁰² All of the clergy within Christendom were ordered to pay a tax of one tenth of all income for a period of three years, counting from 1459, for the crusade. All that had been collected during the reigns of Nicholas V and Calixtus III should be handed over to the apostolic chamber. A plenary indulgence was granted to those who besides the tenth donated 1/50 of their incomes.³⁰³ Besides the tenth, the pope even considered an income-tax of 1/30 of all laymen's income in Italy and 1/20 of the Jews' income for 1459, which should be paid before March 1460. Not surprisingly without much success.³⁰⁴

In August 1460, Marinus de Fregeno sent in another 926 gold florins collected "in partibus Alamanie" to the papal chamber to pay off the debt of 10.000 florins the chamber owed John and Peter de Medici.³⁰⁵ Then he moved on to Sweden, where he collected and preached for the next couple of years.³⁰⁶ According to a chronicler in Lübeck, he

³⁰⁰ APS, 2:432–34 (no. 1282–83).

³⁰¹ APD, 3:279–81 (no. 2170–2176); DN, 17:526–42 (no. 638–43); APS, 2:434–44 (no. 1284–89).

³⁰² APS, 2:447–50 (no. 1295).

³⁰³ APS, 2:450–53 (no. 1296).

³⁰⁴ APS, 2:454–55 (no. 1297). Cf. Housley 1992, pp. 442–43.

³⁰⁵ APD, 3:292 (no. 2195).

³⁰⁶ Cf. Lindbæk 1907, pp. 67–72; Ugglas 1941.

accepted everything: “old copper, pewter, iron ore, old kettles, everything that could be made into money”. He “was a bottomless pit of desire for money... and he often let the poor simple people walk away naked”.³⁰⁷ It was natural to receive donations for the crusade in kind, even in the fifteenth century.³⁰⁸ The funds collected by Marinus were used by Pius II as security in 1462 in connection with a loan of 12,500 Guilders the pope had taken to cover the expenses of his crusading activity.³⁰⁹ In 1462, the pope ordered all ecclesiastical authorities to take actions against Duke Frederick of Braunschweig, his father Wilhelm, and some ecclesiastics who had stolen money collected by Marinus. They were to restore the money under threat of excommunication.³¹⁰ The case had not been closed in December 1463 when Pius II ordered the dean at Saint Paul’s Church in Halberstadt, Tiderius Blok, to “conduct the case of the Papal Chamber”.³¹¹ Marinus was appointed clerk at the apostolic chamber in 1463 on 8 March, and 2 April he submitted 5445 Guilders via the House of Rucellai in Lübeck.³¹² In January 1464, Marinus was allowed 12 mounted men in his company for his collections, and he paid to the Apostolic Chamber 218 Guilders collected “in partibus Svecie”.³¹³

On his return to Germany from his tour of Sweden, he had apparently lost a bag containing the result of his collection: 3243 Rhenish Guilders. The money had been seized by Heinrich Bülow, the prefect in Grevesmühlen, and handed over to his lord Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg, who refused to give them back. The pope now ordered the bishops of Lübeck and Ratzeburg to force the city council of Grevesmühlen and Duke Heinrich to give back the money under threat of excommunication.³¹⁴ It did not seem to help, as Pope Paul II had to repeat the command on 19 October 1464.³¹⁵ In July 1464, however, Marinus paid 2110 Florins to the Apostolic Chamber.³¹⁶ According to Lindbæk, adding up all the sums paid to the Curia, bags of money that

³⁰⁷ Quoted from Lindbæk 1907, p. 68.

³⁰⁸ Schuchard 2000, pp. 63–64.

³⁰⁹ APD, 3:324 (no. 2247).

³¹⁰ APD, 3:338 (no. 2263); DN, 17:558–60 (no. 658).

³¹¹ APD, 3:350 (no. 2296); DN, 17:561–62 (no. 663).

³¹² APD, 3:346 (no. 2281–82); DN, 17:560, 1049–50 (no. 659, 1080).

³¹³ APD, 3:351 (no. 2297–98); DN, 17:562–633, 1051–52 (no. 664, 1083).

³¹⁴ APD, 3:351 (no. 2299); DN, 17:563–65 (no. 665).

³¹⁵ APD, 3:364 (no. 2316).

³¹⁶ APD, 3:355 (no. 2305); DN, 17:1052 (no. 1085).

were lost, and the money confiscated by Christian I and Frederick of Braunschweig, amounts to roughly 750.000 francs in 1907 currency.³¹⁷ Such calculations are difficult to estimate, but it should probably be counted in millions today. Marinus was very good indeed and it probably saved him on several occasions, as the pope could use a man who knew how to make money come in to the papal chamber from Scandinavia. The relative increase in the amounts that came in from the North compared to the rest Europe is probably due to the efforts of Marinus,³¹⁸ and we will turn to him again in the following.

The Crusade of Pius II

At the congress in Mantua, a large army was agreed on with contingents from several parts of Europe. But during the succeeding years it became increasingly clear that the promises would not be fulfilled. In 1463, Pope Pius II declared that he would lead the crusade personally and on 18 June 1464 he took the cross at Saint Peter's in Rome. The crusade bull reached the city of Lübeck with the papal legate and crusade preacher Archbishop Hieronimus of Crete in 1464. Those who wanted to participate on this crusade by sea were to gather in Venice before June 1464. Those who wanted to do service on land should go to Hungary. Those who went and those who contributed in other ways would be granted the crusade indulgence. According to several German chronicles, thousands of people from Scandinavia and the cities of Northern Germany went to take part in the crusade.³¹⁹ When they reached Venice, however, they found no ships and they were mocked by the Italians, according to the German chroniclers. Some went home, but others went to see the pope to be comforted, which probably meant that they wanted to know whether the crusade indulgence still was valid. The pope answered them that it had not been his intention to drag ordinary people with neither money nor arms from their homes. To get rid of them, he gave them his blessing and "with that gift they went home, which not all of them reached".³²⁰ This very unflattering description of a papal crusade against the Turks cannot hide the fact that several thousand people actually went from Scandinavia and the

³¹⁷ Lindbæk 1907, pp. 71–72. Cf. for Marinus *ibid.*, pp. 64–72.

³¹⁸ Cf. the figures in Schuchard 2000, pp. 137–38.

³¹⁹ *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*, 4:351–55. Cf. Vogtherr 1997, pp. 118–21.

³²⁰ Werlauff 1819, pp. 144–45.

Hanseatic Cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, Lüneburg, and Wismar to join Pius II's crusade, besides the many people who supported the crusade through monetary contributions in the early 1460s. According to the sixteenth-century chronicler Arild Huitfeldt—who also reports that there were several people from Denmark among the people that went to take part in Pius II's crusade—the crusade was also preached in Denmark: “That year [1464] the papal legate was here and in the Hanseatic Cities and gave crosses and indulgences to those who wanted to make war against the Turk. Many poorly equipped gathered but because the pope died in Ancona in February, the troops went home”.³²¹ The very influential papal secretary Cardinal John Carvajal wrote to Bishop Claus Wulf of Schleswig in the aftermath of the crusade that Pius II had decided that everyone who had had the intent of going on the crusade or in some way contributed to the crusade would benefit from the crusade indulgence, and he asked the bishop to make this known in his diocese.³²²

From Ancona to the Fall of Negroponte 1464–1470

After the conflict of the 1450s a much closer relationship developed between Denmark and the papacy in the second half of the fifteenth century especially after 1470.³²³ It does not mean that there was no involvement in international politics, or that the matter of the crusade disappeared from Scandinavia. In the first half of the decade, Marinus collected large sums for the crusade and several thousand people went on crusade in 1464. In 1466 the German Emperor called a *Reichstag* in Nuremberg together with Pope Paul II, who had succeeded Pius II, to discuss a new crusade. Christian I was also invited. In his reply to the emperor he first regretted that previous assemblies had led to nothing and then excused the fact that the envoys he sent were neither as many nor as prestigious as his royal dignity should give reason to expect, but this was due to the shortness of the notice as well as for other reasons.³²⁴ According to Arild Huitfeldt Christian I sent a certain Werner Parsberg as legate to Nuremberg, but his name is not recorded

³²¹ Arild Huitfeldt, *Christian I's Historie*, in DRK, 4:140.

³²² APD, 3:362–63 (no. 2313 dated 17 August 1464).

³²³ Ingesman 2003; Lindbæk 1907. Ingesman softens Lindbæk's claim that the 1460s was simply an intermediary period between the 1450s and the 1470s.

³²⁴ *Epistole Regis Christiani I.*, p. 442; Werlauff 1819, p. 146.

in the *Reichstagsakten*.³²⁵ Neither the emperor nor most of the princes of the empire showed up for this *Reichstag*, and all that was agreed was to send 20.000 men to Hungary the year after in the name of the emperor and the pope and among others Christian I.³²⁶ In the event, this was not done.

In 1467, the papal ambassador Ludovicus of Bologna, who styled himself patriarch of Antioch, came to Denmark to negotiate for Christian's participation in a new crusade against the Turks. Christian I was more than ready to go on a crusade had it not been for Poland, as he wrote in a letter to Emperor Frederick. Besides, the nobles in his kingdom of Sweden had rebelled against him and they continued to lay traps, cause war, shed blood, and continuously plot the king's death. If the pope would help to solve the problems of Christian I and restore peace to his realm, he would take up arms with the emperor and go against the wrath of the barbarians. Christian I was even ready to seal a pact of friendship with Poland through matrimony between his son and a daughter of the Polish king.³²⁷

In October 1468, however, Christian wrote to the emperor again and told him that he had received his letters, from which he understood that after divine justice had allowed the punishment of Constantinople and the surrounding Christian population, the emperor on the admonition of the pope had organized several councils in different places with the purpose of "protecting and preserving religion, to repair the ruin of the Christians, and to restore the peace, which the wrath of the enemy had destroyed, to the militant church". And because it did not turn out as it was hoped despite the many laborious efforts and hard work, and he had been unsuccessful in saving the Christian sheep from the jaws of the wolves, he had called a new one to gather in Nuremberg. He encouraged Christian I to send envoys to this council, as he also did, albeit not such as befits a king, Christian admits.³²⁸ But this was

³²⁵ Arild Huitfeldt, *Christian I's Historie*, in DRK, 4:161; Werlauff 1819, p. 146. Werner Parsberg might have travelled lightly as the "des konigs von Denemark eylender botschaft biss ken Nörmberg" that the emissary from Breslau, Fabian Hankos, rode with from Berlin to Nuremberg in February 1464 on his way to Venice, *Politische Correspondenz Breslaus*, 2:42–43, at p. 42.

³²⁶ Niitema 1960, p. 245.

³²⁷ *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 439–440; Werlauff 1819, p. 147; Lindbæk 1907, pp. 58–59; Niitema 1960, pp. 246–47 and cf. below.

³²⁸ *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, p. 442.

caused, without saying too much, because of the difficult times.³²⁹ The emperor should not doubt that Christian always had been and always would be interested in helping the emperor protect his people.

Money for the crusade was still donated, but after his success in Sweden things went wrong for Marinus de Fregeno. In February 1465, the new pope, Paul II, had learned that the collector in the North Marinus de Fregeno, without presenting accounts and for unknown reasons, had gone to Poland and collected a large amount of money. He therefore ordered his *nuntius* and *cubicularius* Albertus de Gaji from Gnesen to seek out the places where the money was kept, demand it be handed over, and transfer it to the House of Rucellai in Lübeck or the House of Jacob Müller in Krakow. A certain Dominicus Gabrielis from Siena was to assist Albert.³³⁰ At the same time, Albert was ordered to arrest Marinus, his relatives, and assistants that were said to be in Poland, and keep them imprisoned for the time being. All ecclesiastical authorities were asked to assist Albert.³³¹ In October 1467, Marinus was given a safe conduct lasting for three months to come to Rome to defend himself against the accusations, which was later prolonged for another four months.³³² Marinus must have defended himself well since he acted as the pope's collector in Scandinavia again in 1471.

The fall of Negroponte to the Turks in 1470 led to renewed intense negotiations for a new crusade, and many plans were being worked out.³³³ In December 1471, the new pope, Sixtus IV, issued a tithe on all the ecclesiastical income in the realms of Christian I, for two reasons. First, because of the strong advance of the Turks who recently had conquered Albania and Euboea, and second, because Paul II had used 200,000 Guilders of the pope's treasury to support the Albanian Prince Scanderbeg and other defenders of the faith. On 31 December 1471, the pope declared a one year's tithe of all ecclesiastical income—except the income of the Knights of Saint John—for the crusade against the Turks, this “*calamitosa modernis temporibus conditio*”.³³⁴ On the same date, Sixtus IV issued another bull that described the atrocities of the Turks in much detail to all of the inhabitants in the realms of Christian

³²⁹ *Epistole Regis Christiani I*, p. 442: “Hoc enim ut alia sileamus prohibentia, temporis angustia non sinebat”.

³³⁰ APD, 3:367 (no. 2325); DN, 17:567–69 (no. 670).

³³¹ APD, 3:367 (no. 2326); DN, 17:566–67 (no. 669).

³³² APD, 3:402–3 (no. 2410).

³³³ Setton 1976–84, 2:301–13.

³³⁴ APS, 2:539–42 (no. 1406).

I as well as in Livonia, Lithuania, and the dioceses of Münster, Verden and Kammin, East and West Flanders, Ditmarschen, Mecklenburg, and the city and diocese of Lübeck. “For the cruel Turkish people, impious dogs of the sect of Macomet, who has raised in rage against the Christian religion”, and the Christian blood they shed and their perverse pollution of Christian churches, the pope granted the right for a man and his wife to choose a confessor who could grant them plenary indulgence once in life and on their death-bed if they contributed between ½ and 5 gold florins for the crusade.³³⁵ At the same time Marinus de Fregeno was chosen as collector of the tithe and instructed to preach the crusade and collect further contributions.³³⁶ Marinus was also to collect what might be deposited with some of his Nordic sub-collectors from the time of Pius II as well as the 400 Guilders that was collected by the Dominican Johannes de Castrocoronato to help the King of Cyprus and deposited with some citizens of Göttingen. He was also to proceed strenuously against those who falsely preached plenary indulgences which had been cancelled or suspended, imprison them and confiscate their properties.³³⁷

The *Reichstags* of the latter half of the 1460s had not accomplished much and Danish representation had not been impressive. Things were different at the crusade *Reichstag* that gathered in Regensburg in 1471. The Danish delegates presented an elaborate plan suggested by Christian I for a large-scale crusade against the Turks. A Venetian fleet was to transport 10,000 men that would engage the Turks from the rear while they were campaigning in the Balkans. Simultaneously, Christian I would personally lead an army reinforced with troops from England, Scotland, and Brandenburg through Russia to Jerusalem. One of Saint Birgitta’s revelations had foretold that Jerusalem would be restored to Christian hands when a king with the name of Christopher (close enough) sat on the Danish throne and when an emperor ruled whose name began with an F—and currently Frederick III was Roman Emperor.³³⁸ So there was much in favour of the plan, but once again

³³⁵ APD, 4:6 (no. 2462); DN, 6:608–11 (no. 574); APS, 2:543–45 (no. 1407).

³³⁶ APD, 4:6 (no. 2461); DN, 6:603–8 (no. 573); APS, 2:545–48 (no. 1408).

³³⁷ APD, 4:6–7 (no. 2463); DN, 6:611–15 (no. 575).

³³⁸ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 22/2:611–13. Perhaps the “Conrat von Tenmargkt”, who arrived in the company of the Brandenburg delegation, had negotiated the Brandenburg participation in the army? Cf. Niitema 1960, pp. 242–60. For the Turks and the political situation in the empire during the reign of Frederick III, cf. Heinig 1997, esp. 2:866–73 and cf. 2:1307–12 for Christian I and the empire.

the Swedes got in the way. Sten Sture, who was regent in Sweden from 1470 to 1497, turned against the king and in 1471 there was a great battle at Brunkebjerg where the king's army was routed and Christian I only just managed to escape, leaving a couple of his teeth on the battlefield. According to the *Sture Chronicle*, a vision of a burning sword of the patron saint of Sweden, Saint Erik, had appeared in the sky, leading the Swedes on.³³⁹ The plan for the crusade was therefore not realised, but it probably was not as fanciful as Scandinavian historians have tended to think. It looked like the plan that Frederick III himself suggested with an army also of 10.000 men gathered from the Empire and other European countries.³⁴⁰ Naturally, Christian I might have suggested the plan to win support for his war efforts in Sweden, but that just underlines the political importance of crusade plans.

In January 1472, Marinus was appointed to preach the crusade in the above-mentioned countries, because the pope wanted to take on the battle with the Turks. His former conduct was praised and everybody admonished to give him support.³⁴¹ He was allowed to have an entourage of twelve riders and pay them one third of a guilder per day, as well as covering other necessary expenses from the money he collected. Again, he was allowed to demand two *bajocchi* for every letter of indulgence he sold.³⁴² At the same time, Christian I was to receive half of what Marinus collected because he had complained of the continuous attacks on his realms by heretics and heathens. The pope knew that "some of the king's realms for several years had been suffering from invasions of heathens and schismatics who raped and put the country to fire". Expenses had to be subtracted first, though, and Marinus should have a proper receipt.³⁴³ Apparently Christian had played the "heretic" card against the Swedes again. That the pope supported Christian was not just a matter of expedience. In 1462, Louis XI promised to equip 40.000 mounted soldiers and 30.000 archers to expel "Mahomet" from Europe, and to re-conquer Syria and the most holy Sepulchre of Christ "for the second time" to win the support of

³³⁹ *Svenska medeltidens rikskrönikar*, 3:82.

³⁴⁰ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 19/2:783–819.

³⁴¹ APD, 4:11–12 (no. 2469); DN, 17:1053–57 (no. 1088).

³⁴² APD, 4:12 (no. 2470); DN, 17:1057–58 (no. 1089). Cf. APD, 4:12 (no. 2471); DN, 17:1059 (no. 1090) for passports and letters of recommendation without time limit for Marinus and the twelve followers; APS, 2:549–50 (no. 1410). For other letters concerning this mission, see *ibid.*, pp. 551–52 (no. 1411–12).

³⁴³ APD, 4:12 (no. 2472); DN, 17:1059–61 (no. 1091); APS, 2:548–49 (no. 1409).

Pius II for his political and dynastic ambitions in Italy. He claimed that he wanted to take control of the Italian harbour cities only to better be able to ship his army to the Holy Land. Pius II was not convinced, however, probably fearing the intentions of the French king while on his way to Jerusalem.³⁴⁴

In 1474, Christian visited Rome on a great pilgrimage that was probably a kind of political propaganda tour and one of the first of its kind in Europe. The Italian noble Filippo Nuvolini in a laudatory poem praised the king, and Christian was presented with the Golden Rose by the pope.³⁴⁵ Nuvolini described the collar of Christian's royal order depicting the Virgin Mary and the three nails of the crucifixion in contrast to other princes who used symbols of vanity and pride like bears, eagles etc. Nuvolini asked Christian I to knight him so he could carry the king's collar against the Turks. The Virgin Mary is of course mentioned to underline Christian I's piety, but it would probably also make everybody come to think of the image of the Virgin that the Turks had destroyed and desecrated at the conquest of Constantinople. The crusade enthusiast Cardinal Bessarion instructed his crusade preachers to use this episode as an example to arouse people to support the crusade in the 1460s.³⁴⁶ Contemporaries believed that the purpose of the journey was the organization of a new crusade against the Turks or at least the unification of the Italian cities to that end.³⁴⁷ The pope might not have imagined Christian I as the great leader of a new crusade. The pope was probably more concerned to turn the event into a political prestigious event for the papacy encouraging other princes to follow the example of Christian in coming to Rome, even if Christian was going to function as arbiter between Burgundy and the emperor in order to persuade them to take part in a new crusade. However, the events fitted perfectly into Christian's ideological program of being presented as a crusader king. His queen Dorothea visited Rome the year after in 1475. She managed to get a papal bull addressed to the archbishop of Magdeburg, which urged the Swedes to be faithful to Christian I. Otherwise the archbishop should excommunicate them

³⁴⁴ Setton 1976–84, 2:232.

³⁴⁵ Etting, Signorini & Werdelin 1984, with an edition of the poem. Cf. S. T. Christensen 2000; Kruse 1998.

³⁴⁶ Cf. below pp. 109–10.

³⁴⁷ Schlegel 1771–76, 4:31.

and admonish the Hanseatic Cities to stop their trade in Sweden. The resistance of the Swedes towards Christian I was presented as preventing the crusade against the Turks.³⁴⁸

Just before the Jubilee in 1475, Pope Sixtus IV nullified all indulgences except those pronounced by Marinus de Fregeno.³⁴⁹ On the same date, 1 February 1474, Sixtus IV asked Marinus to get the money collected for the war against the Hussites that was deposited with merchants in Hamburg and Kiel.³⁵⁰ On 11 March, Marinus deposited 1337 florins collected for the holy crusade (“pro sancta Cruciata”) at the apostolic chamber through middlemen. The florins consisted of 400 gold florins, 873 Rhenish florins, and 674 Apostolic florins.³⁵¹ It cannot be said if the money collected for the Hussite crusade was included in this amount or if it consisted of the more recent collections for the crusade against the Turks. On 8 February 1475, the papal treasury received another 365 florins collected by Marinus and 170 Rhenish florins by one of Marinus’ assistants, Gregorius.³⁵² On 13 November that year, Marinus paid another 723 gold florins that were immediately used to pay off the papal debt to the Medici’s.³⁵³ The next *introitus* from the collections of Marinus came almost two years later, on 5 November 1477, when the papal accounts records a payment of 215 gold florins.³⁵⁴ He died in Rome in 1482, but still after his death money was received at the chamber from his missions:³⁵⁵ In November 1483, the papal *camerarius* asked the *vicethesaurarius* to make an entry of 1000 gold florins from Marinus de Fregeno and thereafter transfer the same amount to Julius de Varano as a payment on a loan the papal chamber owed him.³⁵⁶

During the reign of Christian I, crusades played an important role politically against his enemies in Scandinavia, especially with regard to the relationship between Denmark and Sweden. The popes naturally used the political situation in the North to advocate their own policy, but in neither case does this mean that the crusade was only used as

³⁴⁸ APD, 4:115–17 (no. 2642); Kellerman 1935, p. 127.

³⁴⁹ APS, 2:557 (no. 1417).

³⁵⁰ APS, 2:558–59 (no. 1418).

³⁵¹ APS, 2:559 (no. 1419).

³⁵² APS, 2:559–60 (no. 1420).

³⁵³ APS, 2:566–67 (no. 1432).

³⁵⁴ APS, 2:570–2 (no. 1437).

³⁵⁵ The last few years of his life are treated in Lindbæk 1907, pp. 79–84.

³⁵⁶ APS, 2:604–5 (no. 1474).

a pretext for other political agendas. At the same time large amounts of money were collected among the population in Scandinavia, bearing witness to a widespread interest in and support for crusading on a more general level. In the following, we shall take a closer look at how the crusade message was spread.

Preaching the Crusades

The crusade was important on a political level, but the crusade message was spread far and wide and permeated society. It will be the purpose of the present section to take a closer look at some of the different measures that were used to diffuse crusade propaganda such as preaching and the liturgy, in order to understand how central the crusade must have been to public opinion.

Preaching the Crusades

The crusade was naturally propagandised through preaching. Even attending a crusade sermon was beneficial, and crusade preachers were authorized to remit a certain amount of penance enjoined on their audiences. In her study of the sermon in medieval Denmark, Anne Riising remarked that in a sense the Danish material was uninteresting because it did not differ from the other European sources. In this respect it is a very important conclusion, as it implies that there is no reason to believe that the crusade was preached any differently in Scandinavia when compared to the rest of Europe. She also stated that no crusade sermons as such have been preserved from Denmark, meaning the actual sermons preached to Danish congregations.³⁵⁷ Taken literally, the statement is of course justified, but it is perhaps not entirely correct—at least *models* for preaching the crusade exist, which allows us to come very close to the actual sermon.

In the short narrative *Historia de Profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*, which tells of a Danish-Norwegian fleet's participation in the Third Crusade (1187–92), it is said that the crusade was preached at both the legal assemblies and in churches all over the country.³⁵⁸ Shortly

³⁵⁷ Riising 1969, cf. for instance pp. 67–68 where the Danish sermons are described as unoriginal.

³⁵⁸ *Historia de Profectione*, pp. 467–68. On this source see Skovgaard-Petersen 2000 and 2001. She is also preparing a new edition accompanied by an English translation.

afterwards, the papal bull *Audita tremendi* of Gregory VIII calling to the crusade—that had been brought to the Danish Christmas court by papal legates telling of the fall of Jerusalem and the loss of the Holy Cross at the Battle of Hattin³⁵⁹—was being copied at the monastery of Neumünster in Holstein together with a crusade sermon written by Bernard of Clairvaux: *Sermo mihi ad uos de negotio Christi*. In the manuscript—which contains several letters concerning Danish affairs—it is directly related to the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and Pope Gregory VIII's call for a crusade.³⁶⁰ The preaching of the cross in Denmark thus should be seen as part of a preaching campaign that was launched by the papal legate Henry of Albano early in 1188 in Germany, France, and Flanders.³⁶¹ A century later, the bishop of Skalholt on Iceland, Árni Þorláksson, preached the crusade all over Iceland, with the assistance of some of hand picked priests, according to the decisions taken at the council of Lyons in 1274, as described in *Árna saga biskups*.³⁶² These examples support the assumption that the crusade was preached according to authoritative texts along similar lines, as in the rest of Europe in the High Middle Ages. There is no reason to believe that this changed in the Late Middle Ages.

The Vadstena monk and later bishop of Vesterås in Sweden Acho Iohannis collected several manuscripts containing material for preaching as well as sermons actually preached in Vadstena in the first half of the fifteenth century. The sermons were probably delivered in the vernacular and then written down in Latin.³⁶³ They contain examples for preaching the cross, which stressed that eternal life and

³⁵⁹ Unless it was another slightly earlier bull, cf. Bysted 2004, pp. 296–97. In all circumstances, *Audita Tremendi* would have reached Denmark soon afterwards.

³⁶⁰ KB: GkS 1571 4°, fols. 206^v–209^v; Skovgaard-Petersen 2004a. The version of *Audita tremendi* in Copenhagen differs on minor if important points from the other known versions. That does not concern the present argument, however.

³⁶¹ Bysted 2004, pp. 269–74; Cole 1991, pp. 62–79. Cf. J. M. Jensen 2006 for a more thorough discussion of crusade preaching and liturgy in Denmark around the time of the Third Crusade. For the preaching of the cross in the thirteenth century, see Maier 1994 and 2000.

³⁶² *Biskupa sögur*, 3:50–51; *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, pp. 309–11. Árni had not been at Lyons, but the bishop of Holar, Jörundr Þorsteinsson, was present together with Archbishop Jon II of Trondheim. As soon as Jörundr returned to Iceland in 1275 with the statutes of the council and papal letters, Árni began to preach the cross. According to *Árna saga* the preaching and the liturgical measures also applied mattered greatly.

³⁶³ Hallberg 1997. On Acho Iohannis cf. Silfverstolpe 1898–99, 1:125–27; Ekström 1939, pp. 152–62. I am truly grateful to Håkan Hallberg at Uppsala University Library for providing me with copies of both sources and references.

martyrdom would be achieved through the sign of the cross.³⁶⁴ At least two other examples of preaching the cross are known from Scandinavia from the Late Middle Ages. The first is in the University Library in Uppsala among some sermons by Jacobus de Lausanne from the late fourteenth century.³⁶⁵ The manuscript consists of three parts that are bound together. The youngest part is dated 1474 in the Danish city of Randers.³⁶⁶ It was probably brought from Denmark to Sweden by the Franciscan friar Knut Jönsson, who was “lector” at the Franciscan monastery in the Danish city of Randers in 1474 before becoming warden in the monastery in Stockholm. He took a special interest in books and manuscripts and purchased several for instance in Reval and Uppsala, where he studied for the doctoral degree in 1492. In 1479 he was appointed inquisitor general for Scandinavia.³⁶⁷ The second is a collection of model sermons also in Uppsala, where a number of examples for preaching the cross are found. The manuscript is of French origin of the late fourteenth century but carries the *signum* of the monastic library in Vadstena in Sweden of the fifteenth century.³⁶⁸ They focus on the same themes, stressing that to be a *cruce signatus* meant to live up to the word of Christ. But beside these examples for preaching the cross, another obvious source for the actual content of the crusade sermons of the fifteenth century also needs to be taken into consideration: The papal bulls and letters.

³⁶⁴ UUB: C326, fols. 42^r–43^v, C335, fols. 199^r–201^r.

³⁶⁵ UUB: C215, fol. 58^v.

³⁶⁶ Cf. MHU, 3:43–47.

³⁶⁷ DN, 17:1078 (no. 1111); Lindbæk 1914, pp. 38, 65–66, 131–37; Collijn 1917, esp. pp. 107–23. Lindbæk’s suggestion that it is highly unlikely that the Franciscans ever preached the crusade seems in light of the present work in need of being revised.

³⁶⁸ UUB: C523, fols. 46^v–53^v. A third highly interesting preaching manual is found at KB: GkS 1623 4^o, fols. 30^v–31^v dating from the pontificate of Martin V under the heading: “Instructiones, quas uolumus obseruari inuiolabiliter ab hiis et maxime minus doctis, qui ad populum predicabunt sanctam crucem et officium signandi Christifideles commissum est”. The fifteenth-century manuscript (described in E. Jørgensen 1926, p. 273) was probably purchased at some point by the learned Swedish noble Wilhelm Julius Coyet (1649–1709), whose library Danish troops confiscated in 1710. Although possible, its medieval provenance in Scandinavia is not certain and it will therefore not be discussed here. The collection of Coyet now in Copenhagen was catalogued between 1715 and 1785 by an anonymous author. He probably did not understand French or Latin. When describing the volume containing the manuscript he noted: “An old Latin manuscript difficult to read and even more difficult to understand”, KB: NkS 2231 4^o (*Catalogus Manuscriptorum, quæ in Bibliotheca Coyettana reperta sunt*), p. 7. Cf. in general Ilsoe 1999, 1:289–312, esp. pp. 290–91, 303. I am working on an edition of the manual, which is of great general interest.

The papal bulls and letters calling for a crusade as well as the letters granting the privileges to the preachers and collectors contained the material to be used in crusade sermons. For instance, at the *Reichstag* of Frankfurt in 1427 it was decided that the letters of indulgence for the crusade against the Hussites should be made public from the pulpits in the vernacular:

For these matters should be publicly expounded to the populace throughout all provinces on feast-days and Sundays from the pulpits of all parish churches. Those expounding them should do so in the vernacular, preaching and adding those things which they consider useful and expedient for the holy Church and the defence of the Catholic faith, to the end that nobody can excuse himself under pretext of ignorance, but rather know that he is obliged to make a contribution towards the defence of the Catholic faith.³⁶⁹

The decision was conveyed on to the clergy, for instance by the archbishop of Mainz, Conrad III, in a letter to “the provost, deans, archdeacons, chapters and individuals of our cathedral [church] of Mainz and of the other collegiate and parochial churches... in and throughout our city and diocese of Mainz”:

The indulgences generously granted for the matter of the faith should henceforth be notified by each and all of you to the faithful populace, and published on Sundays and individual feast-days. [This should be done] without penalties in the form of censures and excommunication, rather with kindly exhortation and devout encouragement, as the necessity of this great matter demands and renders expeditious.³⁷⁰

The archbishop wrote the letter because the crusade-tax was paid only very reluctantly, but it throws light on how the crusade was preached and that the papal bull and letters of authorisation to collectors probably give a fairly accurate rendering of the content of the crusade sermons.

The papal bulls often opened with a preamble that described the attacks of the Turks, the suffering of the Christians at the hands of the Turks, and the different crimes the Turks had committed especially against women and children, but also their desecration of the holy

³⁶⁹ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 9:91–110 (no. 76) trans. *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 123–30 (no. 41).

³⁷⁰ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 9:117–18 (no. 84) trans. *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 130–32 (no. 42). Cf. also Schwoebel 1967, pp. 39–40 for bulls and preachers.

places in for instance Jerusalem and Constantinople. It was intended to arouse feelings of vengeance on the part of the listeners—to get them in the right kind of mood. For instance, the bulls appointing Marinus de Fregeno as preacher and collector as well as the letters granting the indulgence privileges described the depredations of the Turks and their “princeps” Machometus and the very grave situation of Christendom.³⁷¹ Another example is a bull of Pope Pius II from 1459, which described how the wolf-like ferocity of the Turks destroyed not only Constantinople but all of the surrounding countries of the Christians “with much plunder, arson, rape, adultery and other hideous crimes, not sparing anyone according to sex or faith”.³⁷² In a bull of December 1471, the pope wrote that he wanted to help the Christians attacked by the Turks, “for the defence of the true faith that they testified at the baptismal fonts”. The most evil “dux” of the Turks had raised the banner of Satan against the Lord’s cross—by which we are made free and saved—and afflicted severe injuries on several Christian realms “in this and the preceding year”. They dragged many into captivity and slavery and several areas and cities had become depopulated. The bull then described the crimes committed by the Turks towards the churches and monasteries, how they destroyed both buildings and inventory—even the reliquaries—and forced many Christians of both sexes “ad damnatam Macometicam sectam”. The Turks now threatened all of Christendom and the pope therefore called for help in this way.³⁷³ Secondly, the bulls could then go on to relate recent political developments and Christian successes against the Turks to make it clear that the Turks could be defeated. Calixtus III, for instance, admonished Marinus in March 1457 to present himself personally to the archbishops, bishops, prelates and “locorum ordinaries” and relate to them and all of their peoples “how the pope had sent two warships to the Orient and there with divine help had succeeded in conquering two islands from the Turks”.³⁷⁴ Thirdly, they then moved on to underline the general threat posed to all of Christendom by the Turks, making the war against the Turks a matter of great importance also to those not living directly in the vicinity of the Turks.

³⁷¹ Cf. above.

³⁷² APS, 2:434–37 (no. 1284), at p. 434.

³⁷³ APS, 2:539–42 (no. 1406). Cf. *ibid.*, no. 1407 at p. 543.

³⁷⁴ APD, 3:239–41 (no. 2087), at pp. 239–40. Cf. APS, 2:417 (no. 1267).

This pattern is found in the written instructions of Cardinal Bessarion for the preaching of the cross in Venice, dated 24 August 1463.³⁷⁵ The preachers were authorized to remit 100 days of enjoined penance for those who attended their sermons. They should exhort the faithful to “assume the sign of the cross . . . the most potent symbol of our salvation” to “defend the Christian people and our faith, by personally taking the field against the enemies of the cross, if they can, or if they cannot do so, by sending [substitutes] or at least contributing according to their means”. They should then outline the causes for the preaching, which were basically three:

First, vengeance for the unutterable and abominable injuries committed by the Turks against Christ our God, His saints, relics of the saints, churches and holy images, and our fellow Christians. Secondly, assistance for the numerous Christian folk most severely oppressed by the Turks and reduced by them to the most shameful slavery. And thirdly, our own defence, lest what remains to us should fall into the hands of the Turks.

Especially the last point is perhaps intended specifically for the situation of the Venetians, but it could easily be adapted to other situations and audiences. All three points are then elaborated. First, the preachers are carefully instructed to arouse vengeance and they should give examples of how severely God had punished those who failed to avenge him. On the second point they should underline the terrible situation of those dragged into captivity. On the third point they should carefully show that the Turk’s intent was to subjugate the whole world and any delay in resisting him was disastrous because “each day he acquires a new kingdom and gets stronger, while we lose a kingdom and get weaker. So if we are unmoved by love for religion and calamity [in the East], let us be moved by our country, our homes, our children, our family, and our wives”. Bessarion was inspired on this point by the classic Greek politician Demosthenes, who argued that the Greeks should fight Philip of Macedonia not for glory or to gain land, but to avoid being enslaved and to defend the fatherland. In the margins to Demosthenes’s works that Bessarion translated around 1470 he wrote: “We must also fight not for a piece of land, but for liberty, for life, and for the safety of the homeland”.³⁷⁶ But it was, of course to be understood in a Christian

³⁷⁵ Mohler 1927, pp. 337–49 trans. in *Documents on the Later Crusades*, 147–54 (no. 48).

³⁷⁶ Bisaha 2004, pp. 80–81, 142.

context. Those who had lived badly up to this point, it should be stated according to the manual, now had the chance to fight in such a way that not only would they incur no punishment for their misdeeds, but they would also enjoy the plenary remission of all their sins and the eternal life. The preachers should underline that not only saints but even gentiles were willing to die for their *patria* and not just men, but women too, “offering all their goods for their country’s sake, and finally themselves embracing death”. In order not to frighten men “by the difficulty of the matter”, the preachers should persuade them by using examples of recent victories like the at the time much celebrated so-called *long campaign* into Turkish held territory by King Vladislaus III of Poland, John Hunyadi, and the Serbian despot George Branković in 1443 taking much booty and inflicting several defeats on Turkish armies, and the defeat inflicted upon the Turks outside Belgrade in 1456 to prove “the vulnerability of the Turkish forces”. Then followed instructions on how to bestow the cross, the indulgences and way of absolving, as well as the content of the letters of indulgence that were to be given to *crucesignati*. An elaborate liturgy was also developed for the bestowing of the cross as described in the Roman Pontifical of 1520.³⁷⁷ There can be no doubt that the content of the crusade sermons based on these instructions would probably be very close to the crusade sermons that moved the several thousand people from Scandinavia and Germany to join Pius II’s crusade in 1463 and 1464.

That many people in Scandinavia heard and were moved by these sermons is attested by from the large amounts of money collected by Marinus de Fregeno, who must have been a skilled preacher who could elaborate easily on the headlines given in the papal bulls. When he was about to enter the Danish city of Ribe to preach the crusade he wrote to the chapter on 13 December 1474 and said that he who received the pope or his *nuntius* received Christ. He could therefore not understand that the chapter had refused to receive his letters. He then insisted that it should be announced on every Sunday and feast-day what kind of indulgence he could grant “for God’s honour, the salvation of the soul and the defence of the Catholic faith and the Christian commonwealth”.³⁷⁸ A week later he wrote again and praised

³⁷⁷ Although the bestowing of crosses was used since the First Crusade, the oldest description of the liturgy used dates from around the middle of the twelfth century, cf. Brundage 1966; Pennington 1974.

³⁷⁸ *Missiver*, 2:91–93 (no. 69).

the extent of the indulgences he had to offer. He assured them that they were not affected by the general papal suspension of indulgences on behalf of the year of Jubilee. At the request of the chapter, he also sent an attested copy of the papal privileges and again asked them to announce on Sundays and other holy days what kind of indulgence he was capable of granting.³⁷⁹ On 1 August 1472, Marinus wrote to the bishop of Lübeck and announced his arrival. He wanted to prepare for his preaching and collecting of money in the city. In a long introduction, he told of the Turks' atrocities against the Christians and explained that the pope had therefore dispatched preachers and collectors for the crusade, among them Marinus.³⁸⁰ This more than suggests that Marinus preached in accordance with the general outlines known from other parts of Europe. If we do not have the actual sermon, we have the content of what the collectors preached, probably very close to the actual sermon in the form of headlines and general themes. Although these were given in Latin, they would have been rendered to the congregations in the vernacular every Sunday and on every feast-day from the pulpits in every parish church, in Denmark too.³⁸¹

Spreading the Word

The English historian Jonathan Harris has investigated the response of the English church to the fall of Constantinople.³⁸² As in Denmark, the political situation prevented direct involvement on the part of the secular authorities: the recent defeat by the French and the loss of the last English dominions on the continent, mounting civil war, and the mental break-down of Henry VI in the summer of 1453, from which he did not recover until Christmas the year after.³⁸³ The English church, however, despite severe criticism for the opposite, did take measures to assure support for the crusade. At a council in July 1454 it was decided to ask the pope to grant an *annus jubilaeus* from the following Lent in England and Ireland. Instead of visiting the churches in Rome, which had been the only way to get such indulgences, the benefits should be enjoyed without the long and expensive journey and the proceeds of the sale should be passed on to the Knights of Saint John to be used

³⁷⁹ *Missiver*, 2:94–97 (no. 70).

³⁸⁰ *APS*, 2:554–57 (no. 1416).

³⁸¹ For English vernacular examples, cf. Schwoebel 1967, pp. 39–40.

³⁸² Harris 1999.

³⁸³ Harris 1999, p. 26.

for the defence of the Christian faith.³⁸⁴ Christopher Tyerman has drawn attention to the gifts of money for the crusade, which were more frequent than previously thought and bear witness to the continuing popular interest in the struggle with Islam.³⁸⁵ Jonathan Harris would like to take it one step further and shows how the efforts to raise money for the crusade heightened public awareness of the crusade. The indulgence was widely diffused and had a considerable impact all over the country on the populace, which of course brought the news of the proposed crusade to a large number of people. This was, as seen, also the case in Denmark. Jonathan Harris, however, draws attention to an “even more effective way of achieving the same end... the granting of indulgences to individual refugees from Constantinople”.³⁸⁶ These indulgences were almost always issued to enable the ransom of relatives who had been captured by the Turks. The suffering of the individuals described was specifically linked to the wider question of the threat posed to Christendom as a whole. These kinds of indulgences become normal from the time of the fall of Thessalonica in 1430. They were first propounded by the popes and eagerly supported by the cardinals who supported the crusading policy. They even encouraged such refugees to go to areas where the crusade was preached as for instance to England in 1455.³⁸⁷ This would probably have been expounded by the Cypriot Paulinus Chappe when he preached the cross in Denmark in 1455.³⁸⁸ It means that although the prime motive was naturally to help the beneficiary to raise money for the ransoming of his relatives there most certainly was a propaganda value that the popes and cardinals would not have been blind too. The letters of indulgence were carried around Europe with the beneficiary and probably read aloud in the churches to encourage the congregations to make donations.

They usually contained a brief outline of the calamities which had befallen the recipient, thus bringing a first-hand account of the Turkish threat to people far distant from it.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁴ Harris 1999, pp. 24, 26–29.

³⁸⁵ Tyerman 1988, pp. 315–17. For a more detailed discussion cf. Lunt 1962, pp. 525–620. Harris is referring to these studies at p. 29 n. 28. Cf. also Schwoebel 1967, pp. 135–39.

³⁸⁶ Harris 1999, pp. 29–31; Harris 1995.

³⁸⁷ Harris 1999, pp. 32–37.

³⁸⁸ Above pp. 75–76.

³⁸⁹ Harris 1999, p. 32.

At least one refugee travelled around Denmark making this kind of propaganda for the crusade. In 1468, Demetrius Paleologus came to Denmark and Christian I gave him a letter that allowed him to stay and try and win support for his cause in Denmark because of his miserable situation.³⁹⁰ It says that “God had allowed the most renowned city of the Greeks Constantinople to fall at the hands of the sacrilegious Turkish people”. Demetrius Paleologus—*miles et Comes Constantinopolitanus*—“had seen his children and all of his family dragged into captivity and now the supreme necessity in those distant parts of the world had forced him to travel around and beg for help to achieve the release of his children and family”.³⁹¹ The letter gives an indication of what Demetrius Paleologus would have preached and it fits perfectly the evidence known from England as rendered by Jonathan Harris. The chronicler Arild Huitfeldt claimed that Demetrius “everywhere received help and comfort”. This information is not given in the letter and indicates there was another source of information that Huitfeldt quotes.³⁹² The message was thus widely preached and spread in Denmark. But various other measures were deployed that would have heightened the awareness of the crusade in the minds of people placed far from the Turks.

Crusade Liturgy

Liturgical measures had been used for a long time in active support of warfare or individual warriors. The blessing of swords, masses, and prayers was used to invoke the aid of God and his saints to achieve victory.³⁹³ During the twelfth century and especially after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, a specific crusade liturgy was created that developed all through the Middle Ages. It has recently been investigated by Amnon Linder, who argues that “Liturgy was one of the main forms

³⁹⁰ The identity of this Demetrius Paleologus is not certain. It is generally assumed that he is the despot of Morea, but as Jonathan Harris has shown, a person with that name collected money in England before the despot left his principality, which opens up the possibility that this Demetrius might even be a third person, Harris 1995, pp. 5, 17, 47. When Emperor Manuel tried to find support in the west in the first decade of the fifteenth century, he appears to have send an unnamed ambassador to Scandinavia, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 46, 75.

³⁹¹ *Epistole Regis Christiani I.*, p. 443. Cf. the examples mentioned in Harris 1999, p. 32 nn. 42–44 including among others Iorga 1899–1915, 4:158 (no. 86) and the completely parallel example to Christian’s letter from Scotland: Robertson 1854–57, 159–61.

³⁹² Arild Huitfeldt, *Christian I’s Historie*, in DRK, 4:178.

³⁹³ Cf. Erdmann 1935; Erdmann 1977; McCormack 1984; McCormack 1987; Heinz 1982, pp. 201–14; Waldhoff 1996–97, at pp. 217–18 for examples.

of action that Europe embraced in its endeavour to liberate the Holy Land”.³⁹⁴ It took many different forms from clamors said during mass for the Holy Land to specific Holy Land masses and prayers against the infidels. These liturgical measures were organized centrally, like the regulations for crusade masses and prayers ordered by Clement V and John XXII in the early fourteenth century in support of the crusade plans for recovery of the Holy Land and the preaching of the cross.

In 1307, the Cistercian General Chapter decided to comply with a request by Clement V that a daily clamor was to be celebrated “pro subsidio Terrae sanctae” by the entire order, which naturally included Scandinavia.³⁹⁵ Clamors on behalf of the Holy Land had been part of the Cistercian liturgy during mass since the end of the twelfth century, but from now on they were performed on a daily basis, also in Scandinavia.³⁹⁶ In 1308, Clement V launched an extraordinary extension of the crusade mass in support of a new plan for a limited crusade entrusted to the Knights of Saint John.³⁹⁷ He also developed the idea that prayers were of great importance for the crusade. A new version of the mass was launched by John XXII in 1322, and it was a huge success until it was changed again in 1456 by Calixtus III, so it now fitted the new political situation and better met the present demands for a crusade against the Turks.³⁹⁸ There does, however, seem to have been a shift after the defeat at Nicopolis in 1396 towards exhortation to financial contributions alone rather than going in person.³⁹⁹ No research has been done in Denmark on the use of liturgy in the struggle to liberate Jerusalem. What follows will be only a brief introduction to the subject to illustrate the fact that in Scandinavia the Turks and pagans were also fought on this battlefield.

One of the problems in identifying specific crusade masses is that they are often based on older liturgical elements and are only singled out through rubrics identifying the specific nature of the mass. Linder

³⁹⁴ Linder 2003. Cf. also France 1988; Cole 1995; Maier 1999.

³⁹⁵ *Statuta Capitulum*, p. 318: “in missa conventuali in singulis nostri Ordinis monasteriis, quotidie pro subsidio Terrae sanctae psalmus Deus venerunt gentes cum usitata collecta dicatur...exauditur”; Linder 2003, p. 118. For an interesting use of liturgy in connection with preaching the crusade on Iceland in 1275, see *Biskupa sögur*, 3:50–51.

³⁹⁶ Johansson 1964, p. 185; Linder 2003, pp. 2–3.

³⁹⁷ Cf. Schein 1991, pp. 200–33.

³⁹⁸ Linder 2003, pp. 118–19.

³⁹⁹ Linder 2003, p. 127.

identifies two different groups of rubrics: one that specifically mentions the Holy Land and another group of a more general kind under the heading *contra paganos*.⁴⁰⁰ At least two of the latter kind can be identified from the Scandinavian material. In the missal from Schleswig that was printed in 1486 is found a triple set of prayers, based on the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu*, which was the core liturgical material for a *Missa pro paganis*.⁴⁰¹ This triple set of prayers was instituted by Pope Clement V in connection with his liturgical propaganda campaign for the crusade in 1308/9. The prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* had been used as basis for Holy Land clamors since the preaching of the Third Crusade in 1188. In the papal bull *Exurgat deus*, Clement V in 1308 decreed that all masses should be augmented with the *Contra paganos* triple set also found in the *Missale* from Schleswig. Pope Calixtus III redirected this set against the Turks in his bull *Cum hiis superioribus* on 20 June 1456.⁴⁰² The prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus* etc. was to be said in all masses, and the entire set was to serve as the core of a special *Missa contra paganos*.⁴⁰³ The Clementine triple set could be used both as a specific Holy Land mass as well as exhortation to fighting against the Turks. Based on the textual variation from the original Holy Land mass instituted by Clement V in 1308, the set found in the Schleswig missal should most likely be seen in connection with the Clementine triple set's redirection against the Turks by Calixtus III in 1456.⁴⁰⁴ The other example is found in Sweden in the *Ordinarius Lincopensis* (Linköping), dating from around 1400. This source is very interesting as it raises some matters of principle for looking at the Scandinavian liturgical material from the perspective of the crusade.

The function of the *Ordinarius* was as a kind of archetype for the liturgy within a specific area—often the diocese. It was a way of trying to create uniformity within liturgical practice. This was achieved mainly in two ways. It functioned as a model in connection with the copying of new liturgical books or the correction of older manuals. But especially it was used as ongoing monitoring of the details in the churches' liturgical books.⁴⁰⁵ The *Ordinarius Lincopensis* was originally

⁴⁰⁰ Linder 2003, pp. 120–28, 181–85

⁴⁰¹ Cf. appendix A below for the text.

⁴⁰² RayAnn, 10:19–24 (no. 19–23).

⁴⁰³ Linder 2003, pp. 8–28, 115–19, 119 n. 82.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. appendix A below.

⁴⁰⁵ Helander 1957, p. 29. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 13–31.

found in the monastery of Vadstena in Sweden, most likely in the church of the monastery, as it is not marked with the *signum* of the monastic library. The manuscript can be dated to the period 1376–1406 on internal evidence.⁴⁰⁶ In connection with the Easter liturgy are found the following instructions:

At *hora nona* everybody should gather in church with their feet bare except the priests of the altars, who, dressed in white, entered without any lights with the Bible and placed it on the altar. The priest dressed in a chasuble walked to his seat after having kissed the altar. Then the texts *In tribulacione* and *Domine audiui* were read. The priest said “let us pray” and the deacon “let us kneel”. Then everybody rised for the collect: “Deus a quo et iudas”. Then was read: “Dixit dominus ad Moysen. *Tr.* Erripe me”. Then follows the Passion according to John without the salutation “Egressus Ihesus”. After the reading of the Passion, two small “syndones” were placed “super altare transuersim”. Two deacons dressed in white brought them to that place, where “Partiti sunt vestimenta mea” was read, and afterwards they carried them away. After this the priest should stand in front of the altar and begin the “orationes solempnes: Oremus dilectissimi”. Having completed the prayer the priest should not say “Per dominum nostrum”, but instead “let us pray” and the deacon “let us kneel”. Before “Per dominum”, the deacon should say “rise”. With the “Per dominum” said, the choir responded “Amen”.⁴⁰⁷ The same, the *Ordinarius* now stated, should be done “pro papa, pro episcopo, pro rege, pro cathechumensis, pro diuersis necessitatibus, pro hereticis et scismaticis. Pro iudeis autem non fit genuflexion, quia ipsi hodie cum irrisione domino genua flectebant. Ad ultimum pro paganis”.⁴⁰⁸

After the collect the cross was venerated and taken from its place and brought in front of the altar. It was carried in procession “ad sepulcrum de sacristia”.⁴⁰⁹ The veneration of the cross at Easter has in itself nothing to do, of course, with the crusades as such. But the crusade ideology stressed that crusaders took the cross and carried it as Jesus had carried the cross to Golgotha. The point to be stressed here is that a part of the Easter liturgy could be used in a number of other specific ways that were not necessarily connected to the Easter

⁴⁰⁶ Helander 1957, pp. 38–45.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ordinarius Lincopensis*, pp. 331–32.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ordinarius Lincopensis*, p. 332.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ordinarius Lincopensis*, pp. 332–33.

celebrations. Only through its rubric, it can be seen to have been used specifically in support of the crusade, either by way of intercessory prayers or in connection with preaching and the collection of money for the crusades. It suggests therefore that the Easter liturgy could have been used all over Scandinavia for specific crusade masses or in support of the crusade, although not explicitly stated in a rubric.

These problems are also to be faced in connection with the other group of masses *contra Turcos*. The earliest recorded mass against the Turks was composed by Bishop Bernhard of Kotor in 1453/54, immediately after the fall of Constantinople. It was officially confirmed and endowed with an indulgence of 300 days by Pope Paul II in 1470. The official *Missa contra Turcos* was as mentioned promulgated in the bull *Cum hiis superioribus* by Calixtus III on 20 June 1456. A *Missa contra Turcos* from Mainz, dated between 1486 and 1493, was an elaborate liturgical event with a mass as its apex. It was preceded by an ante-mass, which included a procession, and was followed by an after-mass and a public declaration in the vernacular of the indulgences granted to participants. It was based on a number of votive masses among others *pro pace* and *pro rege*, and could be used for a number of different purposes as the text also addressed pagans, infidels, and enemies in general. It also offered supplication for other cases, both general and specific, such as in time of plague or for royalty.⁴¹⁰ This rather verbatim rendering of Linder's description of the mass is intended to show that all that was needed to create a specific crusade mass was the usual liturgical elements and prayers *pro pace* or *pro rege* or others, and the papal bulls and preaching manuals that described the special prayers and clamors to be used on behalf of the crusade. Cardinal Bessarion's preaching manual of 1463 also contained instructions and material for performing a *missa contra Turchos* as part of the ordinary litany, as well as certain prayers to be said during mass for the crusade.⁴¹¹ Because both were present in Scandinavia and even a few specific descriptions of crusade masses are found, it is beyond doubt that such masses were performed.

Of course the Knights of Saint John used crusade liturgy when preaching and collecting funds for the Order's war. In 1462, the Grand Master and the general chapter of the Knights of Saint John appointed the Baillie of Majorca, Juan de Carduna, as reformator

⁴¹⁰ The masses are described by Linder 2003, pp. 186–89.

⁴¹¹ Mohler 1927, pp. 344–45.

of the provinces of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and Dacia.⁴¹² In 1463, he was in Denmark at the monastery of Antvorskov, which was the “head of the province of Dacia”, on visitation. In a letter dated 21 September 1463 that was sent to all the houses in the province of Dacia, he stated that Antvorskov and the other commanderies in the province were burdened financially because they had allowed too many brethren to enter their houses. For this reason, they would hardly be able to pay the future expenses to the convent on Rhodes for the defence of the Christian faith. No more than what was needed for the proper celebration of mass should be allowed into the convents. He then ordered that at every High Mass (*summum missis*) performed by the brethren of the Order in Dacia should be sung the collect *Contra paganos* for the defence and preservation of the Order, and one other prayer for the benefactors of the Order, both living and deceased, in order for God in his mercy to protect the Order and the areas under its protection from the might of the barbarians and other enemies of the Christian faith.⁴¹³

Masses were also created specifically for the crusade against heretics—especially in the fifteenth century against the Hussites.⁴¹⁴ Given the fact that the crusades against the Hussites were preached in Denmark, these masses were probably also used. They too could be based on the Easter liturgy as seen from the rubric in *Ordinarius Lincopensis* quoted above. An interesting example of the public use of crusade liturgy is found in 1422, when King Sigismund received the banner of the cross from the hands of the papal legate Cardinal Brenda before the third Hussite crusade. The liturgy used on the occasion is described in the chronicle of Andrew of Regensburg.⁴¹⁵ After the antiphon, a prayer was said over the banner given to “the faithful who are signed on their chests with the sign of the same most holy cross, for the glory and honour of your most holy name, the preservation of the Catholic faith, and the defeat of the false heretics”. It was prayed that it would bring victory. When handed over, it was hoped that the blessing would make the banner strike terror in the foes of Christendom, and that Sigismund would

⁴¹² Hatt Olsen 1962, pp. 90–94 (no. 3).

⁴¹³ *Dueholms Diplomatarium*, pp. 59–60 (no. 98). Cf. Hatt Olsen 1962, pp. 49–50.

⁴¹⁴ Linder 2003, pp. 191–92.

⁴¹⁵ Andrew of Regensburg, *Chronica Husitarum*, in *Andreas von Regensburg. Sämtliche Werke*, ed. G. Leidinger (Munich, 1903), pp. 343–459, at pp. 377–78 quoted from the translation in *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 115–17 (no. 37). Cf. Fudge 2002, pp. 156–58.

burst through the enemy ranks unharmed to the glory of the Lord's name and honour.

As mentioned above, Calixtus III instituted several liturgical measures in the war against the Turks and composed a new mass for the crusade. These measures were organized by the ecclesiastical authorities, but the concern and the need for penance was also expressed in popular ballads.⁴¹⁶ There are indications that the liturgical regulations instituted by Calixtus III were performed in Denmark. In 1455, church bells were rung in Denmark, just like the later general instructions laid out in the bull by Calixtus III, to remind the Danish population of the danger of the Turks.⁴¹⁷ Just like Calixtus, the Cardinal John Carvajal, one of the leading figures of the day in the crusade against the Turk, underlined that it took more to defeat the Turks than armies. He personally believed more in the power of prayers.⁴¹⁸ Such prayers as promulgated by the crusade preachers have survived from Scandinavia in the prayer books of noble ladies. For instance in the prayer book of Anne Brahe, five prayers are preserved that according to the crusade preachers would earn an indulgence of 20.000 years and 24 days. The prayers, originally instituted by Saint Gregory in Rome, had been confirmed and extra indulgence had been granted by Nicholas V and Calixtus III when said in connection with the planned crusade against the Turks after the fall of Constantinople.⁴¹⁹

The editor of the Danish prayer-books, Alfred Otto, offered remarks concerning the Danish prayer-books similar to those of Anne Riising on the medieval sermons to the effect that they did not differ fundamentally from contemporary European sources and thus are evidence of a "lively connection with common Christian culture".⁴²⁰ In Europe another liturgical device was used in every parish church on Sundays

⁴¹⁶ Schwoebel 1967, pp. 19–22.

⁴¹⁷ APD, 7:392 (no. 5891); Rep. II, 1:177 (no. 559). Cf. *Roskilde-Aarbogen 1448–1549*, p. 309 where the death of Pope Nicholas V in 1455 is recorded. It then says: "He arranged that the church bells should be rung at noon, when the bell strikes twelve, to remind people to pray well for the Christians who fight against the Turks and other heathens". Around 1500, the lamentation for the loss of Constantinople was yearly renewed in the services of the Scottish Church, Robertson 1854–57, p. 159 n. 1.

⁴¹⁸ Kellerman 1933, pp. 28–29; Kellerman 1935, p. 108 with n. 41.

⁴¹⁹ *Middelalderens danske bønnebøger*, 2:52–58 and 1:xxxii–xxxiii.

⁴²⁰ *Middelalderens danske bønnebøger*, 1:xxxvi. The edition is on the whole unsatisfactory. A full inventory of the prayers in the surviving Danish prayer-books is found in the unpublished MA-thesis, Hofdahl & Søs-Petersen 2004. I am grateful to the authors for providing me with a copy and their expert help with these sources.

and feast-days, the so-called bidding prayers. They were intercessionary vernacular prayers that were also used in aid of the Holy Land. It means that—even though the message of even a Latin mass for the Holy Land probably would have been understood provided other means of understanding were at hand—the crusade message was communicated in the vernacular as well.⁴²¹ They have so far in this specific case not been identified in Scandinavia, but the burden of proof, I think, has in the light of the above shifted to those who want to argue that they were *not* used.

During the summer of 1470, when the situation between Sweden and Denmark deteriorated, the Swedish archbishop of Uppsala, Jakob Ulvsson, probably decided to try to keep the Swedish church out of the political troubles that lay ahead. He withdrew to Almarstäk from where he wrote a letter to the monastery of Vadstena. In this letter, he told that he had dispatched letters that called upon the faithful to say prayers that God might spare them from the bloodshed that lay ahead. He asked that those who lived in Vadstena should assist in praying for peace. On the day of a meeting between the Danes and Sten Sture to negotiate the future of the two kingdoms, he instructed them to celebrate a mass in honour of Saint Erik. As a preparation, the common people should fast the day prior to the meeting or at least perform some pious act. The day of the meeting, which was the feast of Saint Gilles, should be made a national day of prayer and penance. The Swedish historian Gösta Kellerman saw in this letter a reflection of the instructions given by Pope Calixtus III in his crusade bull of 1456 *Cum hiis superioribus*, in which he called for prayer, fasting, and penance and the need for conversion to the Lord that he should be persuaded to help his faithful as well as to great processions to be held on the first Sunday of each month.⁴²² This seems likely, and bears witness to the fact that such measures would have been considered useful, necessary, important, and very likely carried out dutifully.

The crusade was thus promulgated from the pulpits in Scandinavia on every Sunday and on every feast-day, as well as on a number of other occasions. People would have been constantly reminded of the crusade and the ongoing war against the enemies of the faith. The

⁴²¹ Linder 2003, pp. 353–59, 365.

⁴²² Kellerman 1935, p. 108 with n. 41. At the provincial synod or church council in Copenhagen in 1425 the need for and use of processions and prayers to overcome sin was strongly underlined, cf. DDL, 3:47–58 (no. 54), at pp. 47–48.

crusade was made the obligation of every Christian and the people were admonished to support it by calling on vengeance. An image was painted of the atrocities committed by the Turks together with the notion that they eventually would conquer all of Europe if nothing was done to prevent it. This very personal aspect was underlined by refugees travelling around Europe—also in Scandinavia—telling of the slavery of their close relatives, and begging for help to buy them free. An indication of the success of the preaching of the crusade is the constant flow of money donated to the crusade. Through the surviving letters of indulgence, we can catch a glimpse of who actually supported the crusade.

Letters of Indulgence

A number of letters of indulgence from the preaching campaigns of Marinus de Fregeno in Sweden have been preserved. Although there might be a tendency for letters of nobles and ecclesiastics to survive more often than letters issued to commoners, they give an indication that the crusade was supported by a broad spectrum of society. Can the letters be taken as evidence for active support for the crusade or were people simply investing in the most effective indulgence of their days? It is difficult to answer on the level of individual motivation, but they are evidence that people chose to perform one kind of beneficial act instead of another and therefore also of active support.

It can be difficult to establish the social status of a person from a name in an indulgence letter, but if they were people of some social standing their title seems to have been included. This does not mean, however, that if only the name is given it is an established fact that it was a commoner, but it is at least likely. In December 1460, Marinus issued a letter of indulgence in Stockholm to an Arnaldo Mollero for his contribution “ad expeditionam contra perfidissimos Turchos”.⁴²³ In January 1461, he issued a letter in Strängnäs to the knight and *legijer* in Södermanland, Svarte Åke Jönsson.⁴²⁴ Four days later, another letter was issued for Laurentius Nicolai and Birgitta Olavi and their children in Valentuna.⁴²⁵ Again in Strängnäs on 1 February 1461 he issued a letter to the abbot Olav in Saint Jaba, previously called Juleta

⁴²³ APS, 2:459 (no. 1304).

⁴²⁴ APS, 2:459–60 (no. 1305).

⁴²⁵ APS, 2:460 (no. 1306); *Liber Ecclesiae Vallentunensis*, fol. 18^r, p. 69 and xxvi.

Monastery, the prior Stephan and the brethren Peter, Marcus, Mattheus, Laurentius Jacobi, Laurentius Henichini, and other persons belonging to the monastery.⁴²⁶ In March 1461, he issued a letter of indulgence for the crusade to Erik Svenonis, who was a priest in the church of Sala in Västerås.⁴²⁷ In May, the knight Svarte Åke in Strängnäs received another letter of indulgence for a new contribution to the crusade.⁴²⁸ Two days later, on 7 May, Marinus issued a letter in Stockholm to the prior of the Dominican monastery in Sigtuna together with a number of the brothers there, 35 in total.⁴²⁹ In Nyköping in 1461 an “honest man”, Johan Ingevalli, received a letter of indulgence in return for his contribution to the crusade.⁴³⁰ On 23 January, Marinus granted indulgences to Tord Svenonis and his wife Christina for their contribution for the crusade.⁴³¹ 18 May, Michael Ingemari in Jönköping received indulgence for his contribution to the crusade.⁴³² On the 22 September 1462, Marinus issued a letter of indulgence in Kalmar to Margareta Turesdotter [Bielke] for her contribution to the defence of the Catholic faith against the Turks.⁴³³ On the 15 March 1464, another noble lady, Philippa, daughter of the knight Magnus Green, received a letter of indulgence for her contribution “ad expeditionem contra perfidissimos Turchos pro defensione fidei catholice”.⁴³⁴ Sometime between the years 1460–64, he also issued a letter for Sigrid Simonsdotter.⁴³⁵ Marinus issued another letter to Otto Nikolaisen of Bjørnholm on 16 May 1475 for his contribution to the crusade (“opus orthodoxe fidei”).⁴³⁶ Another letter was issued on 25 September 1476 to “Dominus” Olav Nikolaisen for his contribution.⁴³⁷ And on 12 December another letter was issued to Kirstine Assmwnssdotter.⁴³⁸

⁴²⁶ APS, 2:460–61 (no. 1307).

⁴²⁷ APS, 2:462 (no. 1309).

⁴²⁸ APS, 2:463 (no. 1312).

⁴²⁹ APS, 2:464 (no. 1313).

⁴³⁰ APS, 2:465 (no. 1315).

⁴³¹ APS, 2:467–68 (no. 1319).

⁴³² APS, 2:472 (no. 1323).

⁴³³ APS, 2:476–77 (no. 1329); Rep. II, 2:493 (no. 1506).

⁴³⁴ APS, 2:495 (no. 1350).

⁴³⁵ APS, 2:500–01 (no. 1358).

⁴³⁶ Rep. II, 2:477–78 (no. 3624). Facsimile in Lange 1906, pl. VIII. The name is written with ink in the printed letter.

⁴³⁷ Rep. II, 2:573–74 (no. 3914).

⁴³⁸ Rep. II, 2:581–82 (no. 3943). Facsimile in Lange 1906, pl. IX. The name is inserted with ink.

Men, women, and children, lay folk and ecclesiastics supported the crusade. This pattern is also evidenced from later letters. In November 1484, the papal collector Bartholomeus de Camerino, whose mission to the North will be mentioned later, issued a letter for the curator in the church of Mo Church in Uppsala and his brother Benedictus.⁴³⁹ In January 1485, Bartholomeus granted absolution in the presence of the Dominican Petrus Laurentii, the inhabitants of Skänninge, Steno Effrardi, and the mayor of the city Torkillus to a couple from the Swedish city of Skänninge, Olaus Larensen and his wife Birgitta, his *consobriam*, who had been convicted of incest by the chapter of Linköping, in return for their contribution to the holy crusade—*sancte cruciate*.⁴⁴⁰ During the preaching of the crusade in Sweden and Finland in 1489–90 by Antonius Mast and others, who functioned as sub-collectors for the new papal legate in the North, Raymond Peraudi—to be discussed below—Mast carried with him 20,000 letters of indulgence. Not all of them were issued, but a letter of indulgence was issued in Peraudi's name, dated 6 January 1490, in Uppsala for Olaus Petri and his wife Ingeborg for the Crusade.⁴⁴¹ The pope, Innocent VIII, the letter states, granted the same indulgence as to those who visited Rome during a year of Jubilee to “all and every faithful Christian of both sexes” who contributed to the defence of the Catholic faith against the Turks.⁴⁴² The day after, he issued another letter to the servant Matthias.⁴⁴³ Another letter was issued in Enånger on 6 March to Isrelde Svensson and his wife Helena and their children Olavus, Michael, Johannes, and Ingrid for their contribution to the war against the Turks.⁴⁴⁴ On 9 July, he issued another in Färila for Olavus and Laurentius and their wives, Katarina and Gödelog for their prayers for the protection of the faith, for the welfare of the holy Roman church and the popes, and for universal peace in Christendom between princes and counts.⁴⁴⁵ The papal legate Raymond Peraudi was commissioned to preach the crusade in the North again in 1501. Raymond most likely did not go to Denmark personally, but more than one of his vicars were active at the same time in 1502,

⁴³⁹ APS, 2:610 (no. 1480).

⁴⁴⁰ APS, 2:612–13 (no. 1483).

⁴⁴¹ APS, 2:663–64 (no. 1522).

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 663.

⁴⁴³ APS, 2:664 (no. 1523).

⁴⁴⁴ APS, 2:664–65 (no. 1524).

⁴⁴⁵ APS, 2:665 (no. 1525).

and several letters of indulgence issued in Denmark in his name have been preserved.⁴⁴⁶ In 1501 a letter was issued to Johannis Vollich and his wife and children.⁴⁴⁷ An indulgence letter of 23 December 1502 issued in Malmö to Olaf Jenson for his contribution to the crusade carries the names of Johannes Spegelin and Hermann Andree, besides the name of the papal legate Raymond Peraudi.⁴⁴⁸

One group in particular that has not been mentioned so far seems to have taken a special interest in the crusade and supported it both through donations and through prayers and other liturgical measures: Nuns.

Crusading Nuns

On his tour of Sweden, Marinus de Fregeno also found eager supporters of the crusade among the Swedish nuns. 29 May 1462, he issued a letter of indulgence to the abbess of Askeby Abbey, Anna Jacobi, for her support of the defence against the Turks.⁴⁴⁹ A month later he issued another letter to Anna Jacobi, but this time not only to the abbess herself, but also to a number of sisters of the abbey, 19 in total, for their contribution to the defence of the Catholic faith.⁴⁵⁰ The same year, he issued a letter to the abbess Ingeborg of the Vadstena Monastery as well as to a large number of brethren and sisters.⁴⁵¹ In August 1484, the papal collector Bartholomeus de Camerino issued an indulgence letter to the abbess of Skokloster, Birgitta Olaui, and all her sisters for their contribution to the crusade. The letter tells of the “most nefarious Turks and Tartars and other infidels that daily strive to overcome the followers of the Orthodox church and convert them to the errors of their most spurious sect and deviate them from the true faith”. Through indulgences from the spiritual treasure of the *militans ecclesia* that can never be exhausted, Bartholomeus and his assistants worked to inspire the faithful to give support to the defence of the faith and to fight and resist the said infidels.⁴⁵² The nuns were eager supporters. In January

⁴⁴⁶ Hildebrand 1931. Cf. Paulus 1900, pp. 674–82; Paulus 2000, pp. 178–88.

⁴⁴⁷ *Diplomatarium Flensborgense*, 2:1–3 (no. 223); Lange 1906, pp. 63–66 with pl. X.

⁴⁴⁸ Rep. II, 5:493–94 (no. 9734).

⁴⁴⁹ APS, 2:472 (no. 1324).

⁴⁵⁰ APS, 2:473 (no. 1325).

⁴⁵¹ APS, 2:478–79 (no. 1332).

⁴⁵² APS, 2:607–9 (no. 1478).

1485, he issued a letter to the Abbess Ramborgis in the convent of Vreta, and all her sisters.⁴⁵³

In Denmark, nuns also took a special interest in the crusade. Several indulgence letters issued to the nuns of the convents of Saint Agnes and Saint Clara in Roskilde have been preserved. They have been used in recent Danish historiography to argue that the abbeys had their full complement of sisters in the late medieval period right down to the Reformation, as the names of all the nuns are recorded in the letters.⁴⁵⁴ No one has drawn attention to the fact that these letters are letters of indulgence in support of the crusade. This is only natural as the main focus of previous studies has been on the economic situation of the monasteries and their possessions. The fact that the nuns supported the crusade is in this respect at best unimportant. For the present investigation, it is of course prime material.

In 1437, a certain Martinus Johannes, a canon of Roskilde, who had been appointed papal administrator of the indulgences by the Council of Basel, issued a letter of indulgence to the nuns of Saint Clara convent in Roskilde. As all of the nuns most likely did not visit the churches of Rome in the year of Jubilee they probably had supported the crusade—the other beneficial act mentioned in the letter.⁴⁵⁵ This becomes even more likely as it was not to be the last time that the nuns of Saint Clara's supported the crusade. The nuns of Saint Clara's were granted an indulgence-letter by the ambassador and *procurator generalis* of the King of Cyprus, Paulinus Chappe, 29 April 1455, on his mission to the North mentioned above. It referred to the crusade indulgences of Nicholas V that were issued due to the "afflictions to the kingdom of Cyprus" and "against the perfidious enemies of Christ, Turks and Saracens", dating from May 1452. He especially praised the abbess Margaretha Ruthsdatter and her sisters of the Order of Saint Clara in Roskilde for their rich donations to this war-tax.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵³ APS, 2:613 (no. 1484).

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. Jexlev 1977; Jexlev 1994; *Roskilde Sankt Agnete klostres jordebøger og regnskaber*.

⁴⁵⁵ Rep. I, 3:504–5 (no. 6881). The jurist, historian, and statesman Peder Hansen Resen, who recorded these letters in his *Atlas Danicus* in the second half of the seventeenth century, writes, however, that the letter does not state that the money went to the war against the Turks and "some other pretext for extorting the money was used", *Peder Hansens Resens Atlas Danicus*, pp. 75–79.

⁴⁵⁶ *Auszüge aus des Herrn P. J. Resenii Dänischen Atlas*, pp. 89–92, at p. 92: "Eo, quod devota soror Margareta Rutz-Datter Abbatissa cum omnibus devotis sororibus suis in conventu S. Claræ existentibus, juxta dictum indultum de facultatibus suis prærogaverint,

The nuns of Saint Clara apparently took a special interest in the crusade. In 1475, the collector Marinus Fregeno granted them special privileges as reward for their readiness to give gifts and money for the war against the Turks. A new letter for the nuns of the abbey of Saint Clara in Roskilde was issued to the abbess Helene Mathisdatter and the prioress and all of the nuns, who were mentioned by name, for their contributions to the crusade on 20 October 1475.⁴⁵⁷ Of course, the nuns of the Saint Agnes convent of Roskilde would not be outdone by their fellow sisters of Saint Clara's and they received a letter of indulgence for their contribution to the crusade on 24 October 1475.⁴⁵⁸ The letter also names all of the sisters of the nunnery.⁴⁵⁹ In 1502 the nuns of Saint Agnes' again supported the crusade. An indulgence letter was issued by Raymond Peraudi or in his name to the prioress and the 22 nuns of the nunnery.⁴⁶⁰ The letters thus bear witness to a continued tradition lasting more than sixty years for supporting the crusade on behalf of the sisters of Roskilde.⁴⁶¹

The nuns of course supported the crusade through donations, but they also gave support through prayers and the liturgy, which were considered even more necessary and effective. In a much later excerpt of a bull of Pope Sixtus IV, which admonished all monasteries to appease God through prayers and biddings that the Turks' rage could be stopped, it is seen that this was also carried out in Scandinavia. It is found among the letters of the convent of Bosö and dated 29 May 1476.⁴⁶² In 1502 Raymond Peraudi, having issued the letters of indulgence to the nuns in Bosö, also admonished them to perform pious deeds to prevent the evil intent of the Turk from succeeding.⁴⁶³ It is at least very likely given the interest shown by the nuns of Roskilde

ideo ipsas hujusmodi indulgentiis merito gaudere debere"; Jexlev 1973, p. 335; ÆdA, 5:574. Cf. Pontoppidan 1741–47, 2:612.

⁴⁵⁷ Rep. II, 2:514–15 (no. 3726); Jexlev 1973, p. 337; ÆdA, 5:576; Pontoppidan 1741–47, 2:669.

⁴⁵⁸ Rep. II, 2:516–17 (no. 3729). On the history of the Monastery of Saint Agnes, see *Roskilde Sankt Agnete klostres jordebøger og regnskaber*, esp. pp. 17–36.

⁴⁵⁹ *Roskilde Sankt Agnete klostres jordebøger og regnskaber*, p. 30; Jexlev 1976, pp. 91–93.

⁴⁶⁰ Printed in Neergaard 1889, pp. 749–51; Rep. II, 5:468 (no. 9667).

⁴⁶¹ According to Cardinal Bessarion's preaching manual, whole convents could receive the crusade indulgence if they equipped a crusading warrior for each ten members of the monastery, Mohler 1927, p. 343.

⁴⁶² Rep. II, 2:552 (no. 3855): "påbudtzskriffit till alla closter, dhet dhe med bööner och åkallan skullo blidka Gud, att Turkens mord kunna stillas".

⁴⁶³ APD, 5:361 (no. 3899); DDL, 6:79 (no. 77); Rep. II, 5:471 (no. 9679). Cf. APD, 6:556 (no. 5203).

in the crusade, that they too would have performed both prayers and other liturgical measures in support of the crusade.⁴⁶⁴ As Thomas Hill points out, the nuns were not isolated from the surrounding society or indeed their families.⁴⁶⁵ They would have taken as keen an interest in the common Christian crusade as society at large.

Crusade Literature

Interest in the crusades also manifests itself in the interest in the history of the crusades and the reading of what could be termed crusade literature. In the library in Vadstena Monastery in Sweden was a Latin history of the crusades from the first to the present, dating from the early fifteenth century. It is composed from various sources, among others Haimarus Monarchus and Ludolph von Sudheim, whose fourteenth-century itinerary is more or less freely copied.⁴⁶⁶ But it could be considered an original work on the history of the crusades. The chronicles of the First Crusade were also read. Several were being translated into the vernaculars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The chronicle of Robert of Rheims was, for example, translated into German in five independent versions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as into Dutch and Italian.⁴⁶⁷ Robert's chronicle was found in Scandinavia in at least two twelfth-century Latin versions.⁴⁶⁸ The first was placed in the royal library in Bordesholm whither it had been transferred from the monastery of Neumünster in Holstein. Robert's chronicle had served as a model for the call to a crusade against the Wends from Magdeburg in 1108,⁴⁶⁹ and it is tempting to imagine that the chronicle was brought to Neumünster by the German missionary Vicelin, when the Wends forced him to leave his mission and return to Neumünster in the 1120s. It would then have served as inspiration

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. the much used South German Birgittine prayer-book containing elaborate instructions for prayers and liturgy against the Turks, Nyberg 1972–74, 2:299–11 (no. 245).

⁴⁶⁵ T. Hill 1995.

⁴⁶⁶ UUB: C43, fols. 58–137^v. Cf. MHU, 1:288–89.

⁴⁶⁷ Kraft 1905; Haupt 1972. The Anglican priest Samuel Purchas' (1577–1629) translated in 1625 parts of it as well as parts of the chronicles of William of Malmesbury and Matthew Paris that related to the crusade: *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 7:420–527.

⁴⁶⁸ KB: GkS 2159 4^o (from Bordesholm); UUB: C691.

⁴⁶⁹ *Urkundenbuch des Erzstifts Magdeburg*, pp. 250–51 (no. 193); Knoch 1974; Constable 1999.

for Vicelin and his missionaries and perhaps even Knud Lavard, later a Danish crusade saint, who at that time was involved in some heavy fighting to get control of the area in a conflict that was presented as a war of conversion by the German chronicler Helmold, writing around 1170.⁴⁷⁰ But this is only a hypothesis. The chronicle most certainly was read in the fifteenth century. At the scriptorium at Bordesholm, excerpts of the *Gesta Francorum*, which told of the conquest of Jerusalem, were being copied in the fifteenth century and bound together with the manuscript containing Robert's chronicle.⁴⁷¹ The chapters of the *Gesta Francorum* copied at Bordesholm correspond to a series of chapters which are also found in the other extant manuscript version of Robert's chronicle found in Uppsala that also contains other parts of the *Gesta Francorum*. This manuscript was owned in the sixteenth century by the Danish royal chancellor Johan Friis.⁴⁷² The copying of the chapters regarding the conquest of Jerusalem in the fifteenth century is perhaps to be seen in connection with the crusade plans of Christian I.

At the councils and *Reichstags* of the fifteenth century a new kind of crusade oration or anti-Turkish oration was being created, some lasting several hours that served as a call to arms. The Italian humanist Flavio Biondo often made use of crusading history in his historical works and when composing orations to encourage modern-day rulers to fight the Ottoman Turks.⁴⁷³ Most famous were those delivered by Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II. Especially the one he delivered at the crusade congress in Mantua became widely diffused in both print and manuscript form, but several other orations like those of Cardinal Bessarion in 1460 in Nuremberg and Cardinal Campano at the *Reichstag* in 1471 could be mentioned.⁴⁷⁴ Among other things Piccolomini—like many of his contemporaries—made references to the famous speech of Urban II in 1095 initiating the First Crusade—in the version of Robert of Rheims, although he may have known it from the rendering of Flavio

⁴⁷⁰ Helmold of Bosau, *Cronica Slavorum*, 1.44 and 1.49. Cf. K. V. Jensen 2001; J. M. Jensen 2003a.

⁴⁷¹ KB: GKS 2159 4°. Cf. E. Jørgensen 1926, pp. 381–82; Wetzel 1884, pp. 153–155. The latter dates the fragment to the fourteenth century, but I agree with the Jørgensens's dating to the fifteenth century.

⁴⁷² UUB: C691. Cf. below chapter 4.

⁴⁷³ *Scritti inediti*, pp. 46, 64, 111–13, 149–50, 190–93; Bisaha 2004, pp. 25–30; Black 1985, p. 235.

⁴⁷⁴ Mertens 1997; Helmrath 2000; Helmrath 2004.

Biondo.⁴⁷⁵ Such addresses could appeal to nationalistic sentiments, as when Piccolomini in 1454 at the *Reichstag* in Regensburg outlined the former crusading deeds of the Germans as examples to be followed by the present.⁴⁷⁶ The historical interest in the crusades was not just a part of what has been termed the birth of modern historiography during the renaissance. The humanists gave the history of the crusades much attention because it underlined the common Christian struggle against the enemies of the faith.⁴⁷⁷ The publications and translations were used directly as propaganda for new crusades and especially the First Crusade and its hero Godfrey of Bouillon served as a good example. For instance between 1453 and 1456 the Austrian diplomat, historian, and theologian Thomas Ebendorfer (1388–1464) wrote a work entitled *De duobus passagiis christianorum principum* or *Historia Jerusalemiana* on the history of the First and Third Crusade, hoping that the crusading deeds of the Germans in the past would serve as an example for the present against the “hostes crucis Christi”. Ebendorfer more or less freely copied the chronicle of Robert of Rheims—including the title—for the first part of his work.⁴⁷⁸ Another example is the work of the Florentine chancellor Benedetto Accolti, who wrote a history of the First Crusade in the 1460s based on the works of Marino Sanudo Torsello and the chronicles of William of Tyre (in French translation) and Robert of Rheims. It served both to present Florence as supporting the crusade as part of a diplomatic program and as an example of promoting the success and commitment of early crusaders as a model.⁴⁷⁹

King Christian I explicitly remembered the crusades of his ancestors and used them to promote his own political agenda. For instance, in his confirmation of the privileges of the church in Reval he recalled how the kings of the Danes and lords and dukes of Estonia, by calling on their army from their kingdom and principalities to go on a crusade (“christiane militie expeditione”) in order to subjugate the

⁴⁷⁵ Mertens 2000; Orth 2002. The history of the First Crusade was also known to Aeneas and many other fifteenth century humanists through the works of the twelfth century chronicler Otto of Freising, cf. Schürmann 1986.

⁴⁷⁶ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 19/1:265–70 (no. 34, 1). The oration was printed in both Latin and in German translation in 1490 in a description of the “modern Germania” with the publication of a number of “modern maps” by the cartographer Heinrich Martellus, Krüger 1996, pp. 18–21 for the texts.

⁴⁷⁷ Schmugge 1987, Hankins 1995; Bisaha 2004.

⁴⁷⁸ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Historia Jerusalemiana*, pp. 1–73 (quote at p. 2) and xv–xvi; Lhotsky 1957, esp. pp. 107–8 and cf. e.g. Kraft 1905, pp. 28–39.

⁴⁷⁹ Benedetto Accolti, *De bello*, p. 530; Black 1985, esp. pp. 237–70, 298–99.

barbarians by their swords and might, conquered Estonia and its cities, and out of devotion for the Christian faith erected the church in Revall and out of pious care for religion made it a suffragan church of the Metropolitan See of Lund.⁴⁸⁰ The formula was used again in the confirmation of privileges concerning the diocese of Oslo, where the efforts of Christian's predecessors on behalf of the church were extended to include Norway.⁴⁸¹ Danish kings had simply Christianized the North (through crusades). Such declarations in royal letters and diplomas are important evidence to the central role of the crusade in the royal ideology of Christian I, as royal diplomas must be considered one of the most important sources for medieval royal ideology.⁴⁸² But it also bears witness to the interest in the history of the crusades in Denmark and its political and ideological importance.

The humanist interest in the crusades was transmitted to Denmark, for instance by people who studied in Italy and in other places. The Swede Kort Rogge, who in 1479 became bishop in Strängnäs, studied in Leipzig in the period 1446–49 where he received the Bachelor-degree, after which he returned to Sweden. In 1454, he mortgaged his possessions in Bälinge, and went through Germany and France to Italy, where he stayed and made a career for himself before returning to Sweden in 1463.⁴⁸³ In Italy, he got acquainted with humanism and he copied several historical works including Giovanni Antonio's *Oratio de regno Neapolitana*, Polyb's history of the first Punic War, Prokopius' War against the Goths translated into Latin by Leonardo Bruni and many others, which he brought with him to his see in Strängnäs. He also took an interest in modern history, witnessed by the copies of the speeches and letters of for instance Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini. Among these texts is a description of the siege of Constantinople and the anti-Turkish orations from the Council of Basel and from the crusade congress in Mantua by Pius II.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸⁰ *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 393–94, at p. 394: “Sane sicut dudum divine memorie Reges Danorum & domini ac duces Estonie, qvi contra paganorum insultus christiane militie expeditione ex regno & dominiis ac principatibus suis exercitu felicissimo militari robore, gladio potentiaqve barbaris sue ditione subactis, Estoniam grandem uberemque tellurem suo Regali dominatui subiugarunt, ac flagranti christiane fidei devotione accensi Revaliensem ecclesiam a fundo erexere, dotavere, & pio religionis studio construentes Metropolitane Lundensis Ecclesie suffraganeam institui procuraverunt”.

⁴⁸¹ *Epistolæ Regis Christiani I.*, pp. 399–400, at p. 399 excluding, however, the words “christiane militie expeditione”.

⁴⁸² Fichtenau 1957; Fichtenau 1977.

⁴⁸³ Kellerman 1935, pp. 68–76.

⁴⁸⁴ Aminson 1863, pp. xxxv, xlvi; Kellerman 1935, p. 73 with nn. 13–14. As

The printing press was immediately on its invention in the middle of the fifteenth century put to use in the service of propaganda for the crusades and in printing letters of indulgence. The earliest indulgence letters printed in 1454 also found their way to Scandinavia with the papal crusade preachers and collectors.⁴⁸⁵ The first printing press set up in Paris in 1470 printed the crusade orations of Cardinal Bessarion.⁴⁸⁶ Books and chronicles dealing with the history of the crusades were published and advocated new crusades, for instance *The Boke Intituled Eracles and of Godeffroy of Boloyn* dealing with the First Crusade, published in 1481 by William Caxton in England, who also published indulgence letters as a sideline.⁴⁸⁷ The crusading enthusiast Duke Philip of Burgundy—who also sponsored Caxton—had a whole section of his library dedicated to the history of the crusades.⁴⁸⁸ The first book that was printed in Scandinavia was the Vice-chancellor of the Knights of Saint John William Caoursin's story of the Turkish siege of Rhodes in 1480. William Caoursin was a French humanist and not a member of the order but besides fulfilling his obligations as vice-chancellor employed to function as the Order's historian. Caoursin's history was, as argued by Theresa Vann, "a humanistic text that was part of a political program designed to win Christendom's support for the Hospitallers of Rhodes in the fight against the Turks". It was only part of a "diplomatic corpus" that was created by Caoursin and the master of the Order from 1478, Pierre d'Aubusson, and "circulated throughout Europe to raise money to defend Rhodes".⁴⁸⁹ The Hospitaller Juan de Carduna—whom we met earlier on visitation in Dacia in 1463—came to Lübeck in 1480 with some of this material, not least the bull of Pope Sixtus IV declaring indulgences for those who aided the defence of Rhodes.⁴⁹⁰ It cannot be stated as a fact that he came to Denmark, but the messages and indulgences he carried with him undoubtedly did. In 1481 the prior of Antvorskov, Hans Mortensen, handled a

Kellerman points out Rogge even began styling himself *Conradum Rogge gothum* and *Conradum Roggo de Regno Gothorum inclito* thus being an early example of the growing Gothicism in Sweden, Aminson 1863, pp. iv, xviii.

⁴⁸⁵ Nyerup 1820; Lange 1906; Collijn 1934–38, pp. 41–46, 98–106; *Skrift, Bog og Billede*. Cf. Setton 1976–84, 2:158–59.

⁴⁸⁶ Schwoebel 1967, pp. 157–60, 166–71. Cf. Bisaha 2004, pp. 80–81, 142.

⁴⁸⁷ *The Caxton Eracles*. It was a translation of the Old French *Eracles*, which was a condensed version of the first nine books of the chronicle of William of Tyre. For crusade ideology and Caxton, see Fichte 1998.

⁴⁸⁸ Fichte 1998, pp. 380–81. Cf. Levine 1987, pp. 19–53.

⁴⁸⁹ Vann 2001, quotations at p. 112. Cf. Setton 1976–84, 2:346–63.

⁴⁹⁰ *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*, 4:223–24, 226–27, 233–36.

large amount of money collected for the defence of Rhodes in Dacia. Papal legates came to Denmark in 1481 and 1482 to negotiate Danish participation in the crusade with letters describing the great danger from the Turks.⁴⁹¹ The chroniclers in Lübeck also used news-sheets telling of the atrocities of the Turks during the siege,⁴⁹² which naturally must have been widespread in Denmark as well. Caoursin's history was printed in the Danish city of Odense in 1482 by the German printer Johan Snell, who also printed letters of indulgence both in Denmark and in Sweden.⁴⁹³ It was translated into Danish and printed in 1508 by Gotfred of Ghemen, who also printed indulgence letters.⁴⁹⁴

The earliest print in Swedish was a translation of a Latin *Articuli Abbreviati* that explained the plenary indulgence granted for the Jubilee and the crusade (sancte cruciate) "to protect the holy Christian faith against the unjust Turks and heathens, enemies of the Christian name" probably in 1489 in connection with the preaching campaign of the papal legate Antonius Mast, to whom we shall return later.⁴⁹⁵ The interest in the history of the crusade among the humanist as basis for preaching crusades in their own days is thus also practiced in Scandinavia and at a much earlier date than humanism is traditionally reckoned to have begun to exert influence in Scandinavia. On one frontier of Christendom, all of these different measures were put to use and had an enormous influence on the war against the enemies of Christ that directly involved Scandinavia: that against the schismatic Russians.

Crusades against the Russians

The Swedish kings had directed crusades against the Russians since the thirteenth century. During the second Finland crusade of 1240 and the Russian crusades that had been promulgated by Gregory IX, the Swedes had tried to gain control over the trading routes to Novgorod. During a series of Swedish expeditions and expansion into the heathen Karelia

⁴⁹¹ Rep. II, 3:190–91 (no. 4936); APD, 7:481–85, 496–99 (no. 6015, 6033).

⁴⁹² Vogtherr 1997, pp. 122–23. Cf. also the description in the chronicle of Reimar Koch from the middle of the sixteenth century, KB: GkS 2293 4°, 2:200^r–201^r.

⁴⁹³ Guillelmus Caoursin, *Descriptio obsidionis urbis Rhodie*, pp. 10–12, 145; *Skrift, Bog og Billede*; Lange 1906, pp. 1–23 with pl. II; Collijn 1905–12, 2:49–55; Collijn 1934–38, pp. 41–46.

⁴⁹⁴ *Tyrkens Tog til Rhodos*. Cf. Fjelstrup 1910; Lange 1906, pp. 25–46.

⁴⁹⁵ Collijn 1905–12, 1:34–59.

that was loosely allied to Novgorod, known to modern historians as the Third Crusade that lasted at least from 1285 to the peace settlement in 1323, the frontier castle of Viborg was constructed to the honour of the Virgin Mary.⁴⁹⁶ Magnus Eriksson launched crusades against the Russians in 1348 and 1350 as discussed above. Norwegian kings also conducted crusades against the heathen people living at their northern frontier since the thirteenth century, especially against the Karelians, and from 1384 it was more or less open warfare.⁴⁹⁷ The reciprocal raids described in Russian chronicles in the first half of the fifteenth century involved rather large armies and had manifest religious overtones.⁴⁹⁸ As early as August 1389, Margrethe I sent an open letter to the Lapps with Archbishop Magnus of Lund and instructed them to denounce heathendom and idolatry, to let themselves be baptized and enter the Mother Church outside of which there is no salvation. The archbishop of Uppsala and Philip Karlsson were to deal with the matter.⁴⁹⁹ In 1392, Pope Boniface IX gave permission for the construction of a Dominican monastery at Viborg in Finland in the vicinity of Russians and other infidel nations, where the monks could give comfort to the population during the raids of the same Russians and infidel nations.⁵⁰⁰ With the founding of the Union of Kalmar, this border became a matter for Danish kings. The schismatic Russians thus also became of great importance for the political relationships between Denmark and Sweden.

In 1428, two ambassadors from Novgorod and others in their company had confessed to Danish interrogators that merchants from the cities of Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Lüneburg etc. had tried to persuade and admonish the Russians to go to war against Erik of Pomerania and his kingdom, which should be seen of course in connection with Erik's politics concerning Holstein and his trade

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. Lindkvist 2001; Tengström 1997, 1:89 ff., 145 ff.; Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 310–11.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. Johnsen 1923, pp. 24–40; Christiansen 1997, pp. 177–98. In 1323 Pope John XXII granted the faithful in Norway who died in battle against the heathen Saami (finni) the same indulgence as to those who went to the Holy Land, DN, 6:111 (no. 106). Cf. *ibid.*, 6:235–37 (no. 200–1). For the translation of “Finni” as Lapps, cf. Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, p. 152.

⁴⁹⁸ *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, pp. 181, 189, 200–1, 203. Cf. Johnsen 1923, pp. 28–29; Storm 1893–94, p. 100.

⁴⁹⁹ *Nya Källor*, pp. 19–21 (no. 9); Suhm 1782–1828, 14:550–52; DD IV/4:59 (no. 67). Cf. Skyum-Nielsen 1997, 2:126–28; N. K. Andersen 1962, pp. 205–6.

⁵⁰⁰ APD, 2:40–41 (no. 832).

policy discussed above.⁵⁰¹ From the breakdown of the negotiations for a unification of Catholic and Orthodox churches at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–39, the war against the Russians could be legitimised as a crusade against schismatics. The Teutonic Knights conducted several crusades against Pskov in the early 1400s, partly also to check the rising power of Moscow. Proceeds from collections for the crusade against the Turks were deployed on these campaigns.⁵⁰² The eastern border of the Kalmar Union was a crusade frontier to contemporaries.

As early as 1436 the Swedish state council has suggested an alliance with the Teutonic Knights against the Russians. In 1444 when war erupted between Livonia and Novgorod, the Order admonished Christopher to stop trading with Novgorod and not to reach a peace with the Russians. A raid carried out by Karl Knutsson in autumn of 1444 in the direction of Pskov seems to indicate that he and Christopher had decided to support the Livonian knights. Many political considerations guided Christopher's politics, of course: increased influence in the Baltic, control with the trading routes from Russia, and moves against the deposed Erik of Pomerania who resided on Gotland. However, Christopher's political strategy also involved the crusade against the Russians. Around the same time as Karl Knutsson made his raid, the Order and Novgorod agreed to a truce that lasted until 1447. When peace negotiations led to nothing, Heinrich von Vincke, the master of the Livonian knights, sought powerful allies.⁵⁰³ In 1447, Christopher of Bavaria entered into an alliance with the Teutonic Knights, directed against Novgorod. The knights were to attack on 24 June in Livonia, and the commanders of the army of Christopher should simultaneously attack at different sites at the king's border with the Russians. If the Russians attacked either part first, the other partner should immediately attack the Russian countries that bordered his lands with all his might.⁵⁰⁴ But with Christopher's death in 1448, there was 'enough to do' with the Swedes. It did not take long before the crusade against the Russians and the Swedish question became intermingled.

On 16 June 1451, the pope admonished Christian I to help the city and diocese of Dorpat because it was situated near the border of the

⁵⁰¹ *Nya Källor*, pp. 42–44 (no. 24); Styffe, 2:229–32 (no. 93).

⁵⁰² Housley 1992, pp. 372–73.

⁵⁰³ Olesen 1980, pp. 67, 299–301, 332–45.

⁵⁰⁴ *Nya Källor*, pp. 44–47 (no. 26); Niitema 1960, pp. 215–18.

schismatic Russians. It was threatened by their attacks and therefore in grave danger of being subjugated to their false beliefs.⁵⁰⁵ As mentioned above, Christian I accused Karl Knutsson of entering into an alliance with the Russians in 1456, and the pope accepted the deposition of Karl on the grounds that he cooperated with the Russians in 1457. In 1463, Christian I wrote to Pope Pius II that the Russians often ravaged Sweden, Norway, and especially Finland with fire and sword. He had therefore put an army in the field in order to defend Finland. But while on the way to fight the Russians Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstierne—who functioned as regent in Sweden—instigated a revolt. Christian had therefore been forced to turn around, suppress the uproar through the use of force, and imprison the archbishop.⁵⁰⁶ The argument was, of course, that Christian would have gone on a crusade against the Russians had it not been for the Swedish archbishop.

From this time the rising power of Moscow—the threat from the East—that had overtaken Novgorod in 1470 began to be felt more severely in Sweden and the crusade against Muscovy became a central theme in Scandinavian politics. In the summer of 1475, a message was sent from Finland by Bishop Kort of Åbo, the lord of Viborg Castle, Erik Axelsson, and others to Stockholm, complaining of how the “un-mild Russians—the enemies of God and Christendom—severely injured the common population, men, women, and children in Finland by pillaging, burning, killing and many other harsh torments”.⁵⁰⁷ It was probably received in Stockholm at the council in July 1475, to which more people than usual had shown up.⁵⁰⁸ Because Christendom suffered from these Russian attacks, it was decided to proceed with a conscription (“verkställa en utskrivning”) “of support in supplies and men to come to the rescue of the land and people, which was won by the holy patron saints of Sweden, Saint Erik and Saint Henrik, as well as our ancestors, to the glory of God and for the expansion of Christendom and Sweden”.⁵⁰⁹ As Kellerman argued, it was presented

⁵⁰⁵ APD, 3:184 (no. 1982); LEKU, 11:117–18 (no. 151).

⁵⁰⁶ *Epistole Regis Christiani I.*, 8:417–18.

⁵⁰⁷ Hadorph 1674–76, 2:288–90, at p. 289: “hurw swarliga, hardeliga oc oplicteliga the omilde Rydzar, Gudz oc Christendomens owener, forderfua thesse forskrefne fatiga Almoga, Men, Qwinnor oc Barn i forskrefne Findland, mz drap, brand, roff, oc mange andra harda oc omilla pynor, alt wti en feligh frijd oc dag”.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. *Stockholm Stads Tänkeböcker 1474–1483*, p. 17 ff.

⁵⁰⁹ Hadorph 1674–76, 2:289–90: “ena mögeliga hielp i spisning oc mantal, til at affweria oc wndsäta the Land oc Almoga, som the helge Herra Sweriges Patroner,

as a religious duty for the Swedes to fight for Finland as a holy field where the crusading ancestors of Erik the Holy and Bishop Henrik had fought before them in the twelfth century.⁵¹⁰

St. Erik had been on crusade to Finland in the 1150s together with Bishop Henrik on the First Finland Crusade according to the vernacular rhymed chronicles dating from the late fourteenth century that described the crusade. It is in this respect of minor importance whether these crusades actually took place in the way the chronicles describe, which has been much debated by historians.⁵¹¹ The point is that crusading history was used to legitimise and encourage ongoing crusades. During the fifteenth century Saint Henrik's sarcophagus in Uppsala was adorned with engraved brass plates depicting his crusade to Finland [see fig. 2]. Also in Sweden, the crusades and former crusading deeds of the ancestors were used to urge people to fight in present crusades that were considered direct continuations of the former crusades.

In the early 1480s, Sten Sture got himself involved in the wars that had been conducted between the Teutonic Knights and the Russians, and which ended in defeat for the Order. The knights had, however, also attacked the archbishop of Riga, who had asked Sten Sture for help. He promised to come "in aid of the holy church" but did not receive an answer, as the archbishop had died prior to receiving the letter.⁵¹² It did, however, result in a treaty the year after between Sweden and Riga.⁵¹³ When Innocent VIII became pope in 1484, he immediately began working for a new crusade against the Turks. But in fact he tried to coordinate all of the crusading frontiers of Europe, on the Iberian Peninsula and in the North, to this effect.⁵¹⁴ In February 1485, he urged the archbishop of Uppsala, Jakob Ulfsson, to persuade King Hans (1481–1513) to fight against heathens and Russians to the glorification of God and defence of Christendom. For this they could expect a prize and great rewards from the same God. Besides, it would also give the pope and others an opportunity to consider the canonization

Sancte Eric och Sancte Henric, oc wara foreldra manliga wnno, Gudi til hedher, Christindomen oc Sweriges Crono til ökile oc bestand".

⁵¹⁰ Kellerman 1935, p. 128.

⁵¹¹ Lindkvist 2001, pp. 122–23 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 119–22); Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted, pp. 151–59 and cf. *Kring korstågen till Finland*.

⁵¹² Styffe 4:103 (no. 69); Nyberg 1984, pp. 116–17.

⁵¹³ Styffe 4:107–10 (no. 73); Nyberg 1984, p. 121; Kellerman 1935, pp. 181–82.

⁵¹⁴ For Spain, cf. Housley 1992, pp. 298–304.

process of Catharine of Vadstena that was going on in Rome.⁵¹⁵ In May 1485 he then wrote to the Grand Prince of Moscow, Ivan, and admonished him not to attack his Christian neighbours.⁵¹⁶ The treaty between Sten Sture and Riga led to open conflict with The Livonian Knights in 1486. Innocent, however, sent a letter to Sweden, Prussia, and Livonia in July 1487, admonishing them to make peace because of the planned crusade against the Turks.⁵¹⁷ A peace-settlement was agreed in August 1487 and a treaty signed in July 1488. Innocent VIII appointed Bishop Simon of Tallin as papal legate in May 1488 with instructions to create a league consisting of Denmark, the Teutonic Knights and Poland, with the purpose of undertaking crusades against the Russians. According to the earlier studies of Gösta Kellerman and Johannes Lindbæk—on which this thesis draws heavily—this legation has not left any traces in Scandinavia,⁵¹⁸ but as Tore Nyberg points out it should be seen in connection with the peace-negotiations in the summer and autumn of 1488.⁵¹⁹ The peace treaty of July 1488 stressed that the peace had been made to facilitate joining forces against the Russians, and Sten Sture expressed his wishes for peace with the Order in a letter, dated September 1488.⁵²⁰ Sten Sture was in Finland in the autumn of 1488 because of new Russian raids and depredations.⁵²¹ It is thus very likely that the mission of Simon resulted both in the treaty of July and in actual crusades against the Russians. In any case, the mission of Simon must be understood as an expression of papal policies on the northern frontier of Christendom. In fact, the pope went further in order to create peace in the northern frontier.

On 11 December 1488, Innocent issued a crusade bull to the Christians in Germany, France, and Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Livonia, Prussia, Russia and adjacent regions to support the mission of Raymond

⁵¹⁵ Nyberg 1972–74, 1:106–7 (no. 39): “Interim [while contemplating the canonization proces of different potential saints among other Catharina of Vadstena’s] hortaberis nostro nomine regiam maiestatem et alios, ut consilium per eos initum de pugnando contra ruthenos et infideles pro Dei gloria et christifidelium defensione magno animo prosequantur, nam et ab ipso Deo premium poterunt expectare et magnam apud omnes commendationem. Preaterea etiam nobis et aliis meliorem dabit occasionem ad complacendum ei de canonizatione ipsa”.

⁵¹⁶ Nyberg 1984, pp. 149–50 (no. 4). Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 100, 118.

⁵¹⁷ Nyberg 1984, p. 126 n. 123.

⁵¹⁸ Kellerman 1935, pp. 159–60; Lindbæk 1907, p. 115.

⁵¹⁹ Nyberg 1984, pp. 126–27.

⁵²⁰ FMU, 5:207–8 (no. 4199).

⁵²¹ Kellerman 1935, p. 157.

Peraudi, who was sent as *nuntius*, commissioner, and messenger to announce indulgences of different kinds for contributions to the defence of the faith. Raymond was authorized to choose indulgence preachers and procurators for the apostolic chamber where the money and merchandise which was collected in return for the indulgences was to be sent, having been stored in chests, in churches, or in other places.⁵²² On 16 December Peraudi was given further instructions and privileges for the distribution of the indulgences and concerning the collected money.⁵²³ From 1489 is also preserved a text, which explains the different indulgences granted according to the corresponding sections of the bull.⁵²⁴ In 1489, one of Peraudi's sub-collectors, the Dutchman Antonius Mast,⁵²⁵ came to Sweden to preach the crusade. The Latin version of the *Articuli Abbreviati*, outlining the various indulgences that could be achieved, was printed in 1487 or 1488 and the Swedish translation—the first Swedish printed item (cf. above)—should probably be dated to 1489 in connection with this preaching tour.⁵²⁶ It is possible that Mast had preached the cross in Denmark on his way to Sweden. With him he carried 20.000 letters of indulgence of which 6.000 were taken to Finland with the crusade preacher Michael Poyaudi, who, however, had to bring 4.000 back with him.⁵²⁷ In October 1489, Antonius Mast began to preach the Crusade (“*crucem predicando contra turchos*”) in Stockholm. To mark the beginning of his preaching, he put up a cross at the high altar of *Storkyrkan* and nailed the Swedish translation of the *Articuli Abbreviati* to the church doors.⁵²⁸ During the year 1490, he issued several thousand letters of indulgence in Sweden.⁵²⁹ The crusading

⁵²² APS, 2:639–40 (no. 1512). This copy is now at the RA in Sweden. The editors of the APS did not find the bull in the papal registers. The full text of the bull is known from a slightly later copy made in Sweden, *ibid.*, no. 1521, at pp. 654–55. On Peraudi and his missions, cf. Schneider 1882; Gottlob 1885; Paulus 1900.

⁵²³ APS, 2:640–48 (no. 1513).

⁵²⁴ APS, 2:653–62 (no. 1521). Cf. Collijn 1934–38, pp. 98–105.

⁵²⁵ On his relation to Peraudi cf. the letter of Innocent VIII to Sten Sture dated 3 May 1491, printed in Collijn 1905–12, 1:56.

⁵²⁶ Collijn 1905–12, 1:47–50.

⁵²⁷ Collijn 1905–12, 1:43–44 n. 1; HSH 18:197, 200.

⁵²⁸ *Diarium Vadstenense*, ed. Gejrot, p. 275; *Diarium Vadstenense*, ed. Nygren [facsimile ed. with introductions in Swedish and English]; *Diarium Fratrum Minorum Stockholmensium*, in SRS I/1:67–83, at pp. 67–68; Kellerman 1935, pp. 315–16; Collijn 1905–12, 1:41. Cf. Paulus 1900, p. 660.

⁵²⁹ Cf. Mast's report on the number of indulgence letters, which is quoted by Collijn 1905–12, 1:43–44 n. 1.

fervour was manifested in the great statue of Saint George that was consecrated during the preaching of Antonius Mast on 1 January 1490, in commemoration of the victory over Christian I at Brunkebjerg in 1471 [see fig. 3]. It was equipped by the pope with relics of the saint.⁵³⁰ According to the *Sture Chronicle*, the Swedish soldiers had sung a hymn in praise of Saint George just prior to the first assault at Brunkebjerg although as mentioned it was the sword of Saint Erik that appeared on the sky leading them on.⁵³¹ Perhaps the soldiers said the prayers to Saint George for protection against corporeal as well as invisible enemies, which is known from Swedish prayer books of the time.⁵³²

These legations and papal peace initiatives to the North must be seen in connection with preparations for the crusade, and eventually the crusade congress that was to gather in Rome in July 1490. In the reply submitted by the envoys of the European powers in reply to Innocent VIII's request for advice on the crusade against the Turk two land armies and a naval force were found necessary. One of the land armies was to include soldiers from Denmark.⁵³³ At the same time, Sten Sture tried to win the pope for his policies by stressing Sweden's role in conducting crusades against the Russians and the Karelians.⁵³⁴ In the early summer of 1490, Sten Sture sent Mårten Jönsson with instructions to Hemming Gadh in Rome. Hemming Gadh stressed that Sweden conducted crusades against the schismatic Russians and therefore needed to be secure from attacks by other Christian powers, especially Denmark.⁵³⁵ He told the pope that Sten Sture had led an army of 60,000 men against the "schismatic Russians, deviants of the

⁵³⁰ Svanberg 1998, esp. pp. 45–50 for the relics and the preaching of the crusade; Sundberg 2002, pp. 121–23.

⁵³¹ *Svenska medeltidens rimkrönikar*, 3:76.

⁵³² *Svenska böner från medeltiden*, pp. 407–9 (no. 195). Also found in Denmark: *Middelalderens danske Bønnebøger*, 2:272–73. The veneration of Saint George was also widespread in Denmark and he was one of the saints who survived the Reformation. He is also depicted in murals as a crusader, cf. Kjær 1990. In 1453, the German poet Balthasar Mandelreiß called to a crusade against the Turks in the name of Saint George: "Wol auf in gottes nam und kraft/mit sand Jorgen ritterschaft/wider die Turkenlesterei!", quoted from Thumser 1997, p. 59. The German emperor Frederick III founded a knightly Order of Saint George to fight the Turks in 1469, Koller 1980. Cf. below for the use of prayers.

⁵³³ *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 165–68 (no. 53).

⁵³⁴ *Aktstykker til Bandsagen mod Steen Sture*, pp. 419–28 (no. 16), at pp. 425–26.

⁵³⁵ Carlsson 1915, p. 32; Kellerman 1935, p. 165.

Catholic faith, and enemies of the Christian name and our Savior”.⁵³⁶ Both Denmark and Sweden used the crusade against the Russians as a strategy in gaining political support from the papacy. Peace in the north was needed not only to secure the northern border, but also if Scandinavian participation in the crusade against the Turks was to be achieved. It was therefore paramount for the pope to put an end to the strife between Denmark and Sweden concerning the disputed morning gift of the dowager queen Dorothea. From July 1490, the pope dispatched a whole series of letters to the North to this effect.⁵³⁷ On 8 July 1490, he asked the archbishop of Trondheim and the bishop of Ösel to inform him of the areas of dispute between the various powers.⁵³⁸ Two days later he sent letters to Dorothea and Sten Sture urging them to settle their dispute.⁵³⁹ The same day he wrote a letter to Archbishop Jakob Ulvsson and urged him to persuade Sten Sture to end the case, because he knew the great influence Jakob Ulvsson had on Sten Sture: “scimus fraternitatem tuam pro sua auctoritate et gracia apud eundem Stenonem multum posse operari”.⁵⁴⁰

It appears as if the crusades of Sten Sture against the Russians, and his support of the preaching of Antonius Mast against the Turks, worked to his advantage. In February, 1491 Pope Innocent VIII praised Sten Sture for his piety, because he supported the crusade: “Cum negocio sancta cruciate in regno Swecie publicate pro causa defensionis fidei christiane faueas”.⁵⁴¹ In a letter to Jakob Ulvsson, Dorothea is described as a disturber of the peace and the Danish pressure on Sweden as a cause of the Russian devastation, which is described in vivid detail. The purpose of the war against the Russians was argued to be the subjugation of the Russians to the Catholic faith and to force them into the unity and obedience of the Roman church. The pope wrote Sten Sture again in May 1491 and asked him to see to it that the money collected by Raymond’s sub-collectors was deposited with Georgius Foncker and

⁵³⁶ *Aktstykker til Bandsagen mod Steen Sture*, 4:425: “Christiani nominis et Redemptoris nostri inimicos Ruthenos schismaticos et a fida catholica deviantes”. Cf. Nyberg 1984, pp. 135–37, who with the assistance of John H. Lind tries to find the real events behind this postulation. For the purpose here the emphasis is placed on the argument itself.

⁵³⁷ Cf. Kellerman 1935, pp. 163–64.

⁵³⁸ DN, 17:1128–29 (no. 1145); APD, 4:510 (no. 3218).

⁵³⁹ *Aktstykker til Bandsagen mod Steen Sture*, 4:429–30 (no. 18); APD, 4:510 (no. 3219). Cf. Sture’s accusations against Dorothea in this respect in *Aktstykker til Bandsagen mod Steen Sture*, 4:419–28.

⁵⁴⁰ HSH, 22:1–2; APD, 4:510 (no. 3220).

⁵⁴¹ FMU, 5:300 (no. 4348). Cf. Kellerman 1935, pp. 165, 317–18.

his associates to be sent to the apostolic chamber on Raymond's orders. The pope had received a letter from Raymond, which reported that Sten Sture supported the publication of the indulgences in support of the crusade. Furthermore, Sten Sture should support the provost in Mainz, Konrad Tuss, on the pope's behalf in forcing the helpers, Antonius Mast and Michael Peyoudi, to report to Raymond with their accounts of the collected subsidies.⁵⁴² The amounts that came in for the crusade were substantial. In 1491, Peraudi was able to loan Emperor Maximilian 10,000 Guilders of the money collected in Sweden.⁵⁴³ On 9 May 1491, Raymond received a receipt for 20,000 gold ducats that he and his sub-delegates had collected and sent to the Curia.⁵⁴⁴ In the account produced at the national council that gathered in Stockholm in 1491 over the amounts collected by the papal *nuntius*, Antonius Mast, the sub-collector Johannes Ragvaldi had collected 977 Marks in money for the *sancta cruciata*.⁵⁴⁵

War with the Russians on the Eastern frontier continued to be a matter of great concern. In 1490, the Bishop of Åbo Magnus Nilsson and Archbishop Michael in Riga wrote letters to each other discussing peace in the Baltic and a common front against the Russians. Magnus argued on behalf of the peace initiative of the pope not to disturb the peace and infringe on the projected crusade. Archbishop Michael answered positively and fantasized that a part of the army would be sent against the Russians, just like a part of the crusade had been at the time of Godfrey of Bouillon! He did, however, have some reservations concerning Sten Sture and Antonius Mast, and a treaty was not agreed.⁵⁴⁶ In 1492, the Russians besieged the frontier castle Viborg, and in October the Swedish council asked the Livonian Knights to enter into a treaty against the Russians. All laws permitted the defence of one's life and freedom, it is argued in the letter, especially when it came to defending religion. The schismatic Russians had long been invading the northern

⁵⁴² APS, 2:665–66 (no. 1526); Collijn 1905–12, 1:56. The background for the letter was that Peraudi had complained over Antonius Mast and Michael Peyoudi for failure to produce their accounts, and the pope needed Sture's assistance in getting the money "necessarie pro municione terrarum Romane curie fidei hostes" handed over to German merchants.

⁵⁴³ Schneider 1882, p. 29. Also quoted by Collijn 1905–12, 1:42; Kellerman 1935, p. 318.

⁵⁴⁴ APS, 2:666–68 (no. 1527).

⁵⁴⁵ APS, 2:668–75 (no. 1529), at p. 672.

⁵⁴⁶ *Handlingar*, 1:71–77 (no. 44–46), at p. 76 for Godfrey of Bouillon. Cf. Kellerman 1935, pp. 182–83.

part of Christendom and they planned to subjugate especially Sweden and Livonia under their tyranny and convert them to their heretical religion. Therefore the Christian nations needed to make peace now more than ever.⁵⁴⁷ The line of argument is exactly parallel to the arguments concerning the crusade against the Turks.

In 1493 King Hans, however, began negotiations with Moscow directed against Sten Sture in Sweden, which obviously cut across papal policies in the area.⁵⁴⁸ According to the Danish Chronicler Arild Huitfeldt, the ratifications of the treaty took place in Copenhagen in 1493.⁵⁴⁹ King Hans promised to help the Grand Prince of Moscow against his enemies, i.e. Sten Sture, who was also described as the enemy of Hans. King Hans was also obligated to support the Grand Prince against his enemy the Prince of Lithuania. The dispute concerning the northern border between the two realms was settled with the agreement that the border should “ab antique continuatum fuerit”, which meant according to the agreement of 1323.⁵⁵⁰ Fishing and trading rights were mutually acknowledged, and it was agreed to exchange prisoners and slaves. The treaty was renewed in 1506 against Swante Nilsson, the guardian of Viborg Castle, and other “un-faithful and rebellious subjects who have occupied our Swedish realm”. That negotiations with the Russians took place was not kept secret by the Danes, and the Swedes were well aware of them. The exact content of the negotiations was, of course, not intended for Swedish ears. The Danish council informed the Swedish council that the negotiations concerned only the question of the border and that they had succeeded in regaining a lot of lost territory in Norway.⁵⁵¹ The Swedes were, however, worried, and with good reason.

⁵⁴⁷ Styffe, 4:155–58 (no. 105); *Nya Källor*, pp. 84–85 (no. 42). Cf. Kellerman 1935, pp. 167–68, 175.

⁵⁴⁸ DN, 17:1118–21 (no. 1138); Nyberg 1984. Cf. also APD, 4:422–24, 510 (no. 3106–8, 3218). The last document points out that if the drawn out legal case between Sten Sture and the Queen Dowager Dorothea (concerning some lands in Sweden) should lead to war it would mean that Sten Sture would be unable to fight the Russians. Cf. Pape 1993; Palmén 1883.

⁵⁴⁹ Arild Huitfeldt, *Kong Hans's Historie*, in DRK, 5:109–10. Cf. also Albrechtsen 1997, pp. 247–75, esp. pp. 264–65; Jahn 1835, pp. 569–70 (no. 50) and pp. 360–71.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. Gallén & Lind 1968–91.

⁵⁵¹ *Nya Källor*, 85–88 (no. 43); Jahn 1835, p. 571 (no. 51) and cf. *ibid.*, pp. 567–69 (no. 49); HSH 22:18–20. According to the later Danish *Skibby Chronicle* Sten Sture had begun to rule as a tyrant, which is probably to be seen in this connection, Paulus Helie, *Chronicon Skibyense*, pp. 62–63.

During the year 1494, tension mounted as news of a ten year truce between Moscow and Livonia reached Sweden.⁵⁵² Negotiations continued with Hans for peace among the Scandinavian kingdoms and the continuation of the Union.⁵⁵³ The Swedish archbishop was particularly concerned about Finland as is testified from two letters from late 1494, in which he writes: “that if Finland should fall into the hands of the Russians it would be better if I had never been born”. If he only knew what to do, he would not spare anything even going there in person.⁵⁵⁴ Concerning the treaty between Denmark and Moscow, he advised Sten Sture to get proof of this and report the matter in Rome.⁵⁵⁵ Early in 1495, King Hans assured the Swedish council that the treaty was not directed against Sweden.⁵⁵⁶ Finally, in the autumn of 1495, the long awaited Russian attack came.

In October, Bishop Magnus of Åbo wrote to Archbishop Jacob and told of the terrible Russian raids in Karelia, and that they were besieging Viborg Castle. He begged for help as the situation was desperate. Contemporaries no doubt considered this war a crusade. Magnus wrote that one of the leaders of the armies in Finland had asked if he should enter the field on behalf of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, and Sten Sture against the un-mild Russians (“omilde Rytzer”) and help protect the holy Christian faith and the poor country. He then asked the bishop to bless the banner that he carried against the Russians. Accordingly, Magnus blessed the army that went to defend the country and assured that the blessing of the Holy Trinity and the mild prayers of the Virgin Mary, the patron saints of Sweden, Henrik and Erik, and all the saints would protect them.⁵⁵⁷ Among the prayers found in the Swedish prayer books, some elements can be singled out that bear directly on the crusading aspect. In one of the prayers to the Holy Trinity addressed to Christ, the symbol of his victory (over sin, death etc.) is the most holy banner of the cross.⁵⁵⁸ More

⁵⁵² HSH, 22:55.

⁵⁵³ Kellerman 1935, p. 190 ff.

⁵⁵⁴ HSH, 18:7–15. Cf. Kellerman 1935, pp. 197–202. Although it was perhaps just a figure of speech Kellerman might have a point in Jakob Ulvsson comparing himself to Pius II, who had just died in Ancona, when Jakob Ulvsson arrived in Rome to study.

⁵⁵⁵ Kellerman 1935, pp. 207–8.

⁵⁵⁶ HSH, 22:15–17.

⁵⁵⁷ FMU, 5:491–93 (no. 4623).

⁵⁵⁸ *Svenska böner från medeltiden*, pp. 18–20 (no. 9), at pp. 19–20.

revealing is the prayer to Saint Erik.⁵⁵⁹ He is praised for being ready to die for God and fight manfully against “gudz owinom”—the enemies of God—and the holy faith.⁵⁶⁰ When he was killed by these enemies, he placed his soul in the hands of God, and his soul went to Heaven to rest with God. These elements may have nothing to do with crusading, but in the context into which they were placed by Bishop Magnus, the banner of the cross became a very real symbol of the war against the enemies of God, and the theme of martyrdom during this war gained specific importance and relevance. It was to be officially declared by the Swedish church and government later that year.

In October 1495, it was decided to send an army from Sweden to Finland to counter the Russian offensive. Before leaving on crusade against the Russians, Sten Sture had the old banner of Saint Erik consecrated through ceremonies at the monumental statue of Saint George in *Storkyrkan* in Stockholm, before sending it with the fleet to Finland.⁵⁶¹ The banner was carried in a great procession to the churches of Stockholm before Sten Sture, kneeling, took it from the statue.⁵⁶² Among those requesting that the banner should be brought into the field against the Russians was Bishop Kort Rogge, whom we met earlier, copying the crusade orations of Pius II.⁵⁶³ Archbishop Jacob, however, was reluctant to put the banner into the field, probably worried that it might be misused. He made Sten Sture promise that it would not be used for any kind of war other than against “Russians and enemies of the Holy Faith”. Besides asking for the banner, Sten Sture and Kort Rogge also advised that three “learned men” were sent with the army to preach the holy faith in the hope that “God might turn his mercy upon the army against the Russians”. They should naturally assist in the spiritual warfare, but they were perhaps even—as suggested by Kellerman—supposed to preach to the Russians in the wake of the crusade. Archbishop Jacob stayed in Sweden but sent supplies and

⁵⁵⁹ *Svenska böner från medeltiden*, pp. 403–3 (no. 192).

⁵⁶⁰ This term is also used in the testament of King Magnus II Eriksson (above p. 37 n. 14) donating money to the crusade, underlining the possible crusading context.

⁵⁶¹ *Sveriges traktater*, 3:446–48 (no. 548); APD, 5:155–56 (no. 3536); Styffe, 4:196–97 and 206–8 (no. 131 and 138) and pp. clxxxiv–cxvii; Kellerman 1935, pp. 215–92; Carlsson 1915, pp. 39–51; Svanberg 1998, p. 48; K. V. Jensen 2000a, p. 57.

⁵⁶² *Svenska medeltidens rimkröniker*, 3:126 f., vv. 3661 ff.

⁵⁶³ He took a special interest in the national saint of Sweden Saint Erik. As early as 1487, he donated a prebend to Saint Erik in Strängnäs, Kellerman 1935, p. 73.

troops for the crusade, which Sten Sture promised to use “against the enemies of God”.⁵⁶⁴

It was too late in the year, however, and the army made only very slow progress. As in 1470, the archbishop turned to Vadstena Monastery to ask for its help through prayers in a letter dated 2 January 1496: He feared the damage done by the un-mild Russians. He did not know how Christianity should manage to withstand them without the aid of the almighty God, Saint Erik, Saint Birgitta, and other patron saints of Sweden. He was deeply concerned of the thought that Finland and Viborg might already have fallen into their hands.⁵⁶⁵ In his own diocese he celebrated monthly masses and used fasting, donations, and other pious deeds in praise of God, Mary and all the patron saints of Sweden. He instituted that in all sermons the common people should be admonished to pray for peace, Christianity, and Finland as well as for Sten Sture and his army. He now asked Vadstena to do the same. It is a powerful expression of the function of liturgy in support of the crusade, and illustrates how all of the community was asked to take part.

Viborg Castle did, however, withstand Russian attacks in December 1495, not least because a glowing Saint Andrew’s cross appeared in the sky, giving the defenders renewed courage at a time when everything seemed lost, which meant that the Russians had to abandon the siege. Bishop Magnus of Åbo related how the cross appeared on the sky in a letter to Jakob Ulvsson in January 1496.⁵⁶⁶ It is also mentioned by the *Sture Chronicle*, although the victory was ascribed to the intervention of Saint Erik and Saint Olaf by the chronicler.⁵⁶⁷ Saint Andrew was also the patron saint of the Russians, and perhaps the idea was that he had abandoned them and now fought on the side of the Swedes.⁵⁶⁸ Saint Andrew was, however, associated with the war against the infidels in

⁵⁶⁴ FMU 5:504–5 (no. 4634); *Handlingar*, 6:371–76 (no. 164). Bishop Henrik also sent soldiers, HSH, 18:51–52.

⁵⁶⁵ FMU 6:1–2 (no. 4646); *Handlingar*, 6:88–90 (no. 47).

⁵⁶⁶ FMU, 6:3–4 (no. 4648); *Svenska medeltidens rikskrönikar*, 3:132 (for the campaign and the siege of Viborg, see *ibid.*, pp. 122–34); Sundberg 2002, p. 115.

⁵⁶⁷ *Svenske medeltidans rikskröniker*, 3:133, vv. 3847 ff.

⁵⁶⁸ Magnus’ letter is therefore not necessarily “irrational”, as Kellerman argues. In a footnote he argues that Magnus’ letter should have the highest priority compared to the *Sture Chronicle*, as it is an eyewitness report and therefore primary, even though he considers the letter an “ex eventu” interpretation, Kellerman 1935, pp. 223–24. However, the victory might have been attributed to several saints at the same time.

several other connections. He was the patron saint of the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded by Duke Philip the Good in 1431. The primary aim of the order was the recapture of the Holy Land and its chapter meetings took place on Saint Andrew's feast day, 30 November. Perhaps there might also be some connection to the emotional reception of the head of Saint Andrew, who was the brother of Saint Peter, in Rome in April 1462 brought by Thomas Paleologus, fleeing before the Turks to Italy in 1460. It was handed over at a wooden tribune outside the city and was brought to the Vatican basilica, where Pius II later built the round chapel of Saint Andrew. The great procession was witnessed by thousands and remembered long after. Both Pius II and Cardinal Bessarion used the event as propaganda for the crusade against the Turks.⁵⁶⁹ It would have been known to Jakob Ulvsson, who came to Rome in 1464, and Magnus of Åbo who also studied in Rome at least from 1464.⁵⁷⁰

Even the most modern technology was used in the war effort against the Russians. In 1493, the Russians had constructed a new strong fortress, Ivangorod, at Narva in preparation for their campaign against Finland.⁵⁷¹ In 1496, Jakob Ulvsson asked the deacon in the diocese of Åbo for a copy of the "astrological chart in Latin" concerning the situation of the Russians, especially concerning their new fortification Ivangorod at Narva.⁵⁷² It should perhaps be compared to modern spy satellites, and the intelligence gathered was probably good, as the Swedes manage to defeat the Russians at Ivangorod later that year and to destroy the fortress.

In 1495, Sten Sture asked the pope for a crusade bull against the Russians through Hemming Gadh, his emissary in Rome. As usual, the northern front was directly linked to the crusade against the Turks. In September 1494, the Roman emperor Maximilian I entered the knightly Order of Saint George, which he intended to function as a pan-European brotherhood to conduct crusades against the Turks, and proclaimed his plan to organize a crusade against the Turks as well as his ambition to personally lead the army of Saint George to

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. Setton 1976–84, 2:228–30; Schwoebel 1967, pp. 68–70; Bisaha 2004, pp. 111–12. Several relics of his cross were for instance found in Roskilde with the "crusading nuns", cf. *Dänische Bibliothec*, 2 (1738), pp. 121, 124.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Kellerman 1935, pp. 18–22, 87.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. HSH 22:43.

⁵⁷² HSH, 18:56: "quoddam iudicium astronomiæ in latino de statu rutenorum et de castro per eos nuper edificatio circa narwen". Cf. Kellerman 1935, p. 61.

defeat the Turks.⁵⁷³ Although the truce concluded between Hungary and Turkey in March 1495 made this impossible, a holy league was created against the Turks at the *Reichstag* in Worms on 7 August 1495, as well as against all other enemies of the Christian faith—including the grand prince of Moscow. Shortly after the creation of the league, he wrote to Elector Friedrich of Brandenburg, the Dukes Magnus and Balthasar of Mecklenburg, and King Hans, and admonished them to go in aid of the Teutonic Knights in Livonia against the Russians. He even wrote to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain and asked for help “in the interest of all Christendom”, and he informed Pope Alexander VI of his plans.⁵⁷⁴ The pope congratulated Maximilian on the formation of the league and wrote to King Hans and advising him not to harass Sweden as long as the crusade against the Russians was in progress. The crusade bull was issued in June 1496, but apparently it did not reach Sweden. Jakob Ulvsson wrote to Sten Sture in 1496 about “our father the pope’s letter about the red cross and the indulgence from sin and torment against the Russians”, and the letter “the pope had written to King Hans and admonished him not to go to war against our kingdom” that had still not come to Lübeck as expected.⁵⁷⁵ In November, he again wrote and reported that the crusade bull (“*Cruciata contra Ruthenos*”) had still not arrived and he feared that it had been intercepted or called back due to the schemes of the enemies of the realm.⁵⁷⁶ Later Hemming Gadh accused Jakob Ulvsson of having been unwilling to publish the bulls in order not to offend King Hans.⁵⁷⁷ It suggested that the bull could also be used against King Hans if he attacked Sweden. The archbishop, however, underlined in his letter to Sten Sture the necessity for peace with Denmark while the crusade against the Russians was going on, and if it could not be achieved with the aid of the bulls it should be sought with other means.

Things were beginning to go wrong for Sten Sture, however, and in January 1497, Jakob Ulvsson demanded Saint Erik’s banner back as all those who had originally left for Finland had now returned. In fact, Sten Sture had been ready to give up some lands in Finland to the Russians to be able to confront Hans, who continued to gather forces

⁵⁷³ Tengström 1997, 1:139–40; Koller 1980, pp. 426–28.

⁵⁷⁴ Tengström 1997, 1:131–33, 153–54.

⁵⁷⁵ HSH, 18:42.

⁵⁷⁶ HSH, 18:57–58.

⁵⁷⁷ Styffe, 5:359–60 (no. 274); Kellerman 1935, p. 246.

for a Swedish campaign. He presented this plan to the Swedish council, who together with the church were utterly against it. In March 1497, the Swedish council deposed Sten Sture and called in Hans as King of Sweden, based on the argument that Sten Sture had been cooperating with the Russians. Sten Sture returned to Sweden and began campaigning against the archbishop. He burned the cities of Biskopstuna and Frölunda, and on 1 July he even besieged the archbishop on his homestead, Saint Erik's Gård [Farm of Saint Erik]. Later, Sten Sture, his soldiers, and their conduct were described as being worse than the Russians'. Finally his army was defeated by King Hans at Rotebro and Hans was crowned as king of Sweden. Sten Sture thus from being a mighty crusader suddenly faced accusations of cooperating with the Russians. This line of argument seems to have been *his* plan against King Hans. It underlines the political importance of these arguments and the enormous importance of the crusade for the political relationship between Denmark and Sweden. As mentioned, it was often directly linked to negotiations for the crusade against the Turks.

King Hans and the Crusade against the Turk

On 7 June 1483, Sixtus IV sent Bartholomeus de Camerino, bishop of Città di Castello and general treasurer of the apostolic chamber, as *legatus de latere* to collect the contributions for the defence of Rhodes still in the hands of ecclesiastical authorities and individuals, and with authority to prosecute those who had deprived the papal chamber of its rights.⁵⁷⁸ The pope also wrote letters of recommendation for him to all of the bishops in Sweden and Norway, in which Bartholomeus was presented as the papal legate *pro negotio sancte cruciate*.⁵⁷⁹ According to the *Diarium* from Vadstena, he arrived in Stockholm around 10 August 1484 to proclaim plenary indulgences to those who contributed to the crusade against the Turks.⁵⁸⁰ According to this source, he was received with honour by both prelates and the princes of the realm all over Sweden. Sixtus also granted all the faithful in Sweden and Norway and the bordering regions to choose a confessor to grant them indulgence with

⁵⁷⁸ APS, 2:592–94 (no. 1464). Cf. also *ibid.*, 594–95 (no. 1465).

⁵⁷⁹ APS, 2:598–99 (no. 1471).

⁵⁸⁰ *Diarium Vadstenense*, ed. Gejrot, p. 266. Cf. SRS III/1:338.

apostolic authority if they within the next year and a half counting from the next coming Easter contributed to the defence against the Turks.⁵⁸¹ On 21 November, the pope dispatched a letter to the nobles in Italy and all Christian princes, including the Danish king, and requested immediate help against the Turks. Subsidies should be sent with their envoys to the curia.⁵⁸² Bartholomeus may have been a little slow in sending the collected money to the curia. In August 1485, the pope, Innocent VIII, dispatched his *nuntius* Benedictus Mansella with the assignment to look over the accounts of Bartholomeus and the other apostolic collectors and to gather the money of the apostolic chamber.⁵⁸³ During a mission to Ösel, a certain Benedictus de Maccabrino de Camerino was assigned to bring back all that Bartholomeus de Camerino had collected in the kingdom of Denmark.⁵⁸⁴ All the money that Marinus de Fregeno and Bartholomeus de Camerino had collected had not been sent to the curia in January 1486. At least Innocent VIII appointed *magister* Gunther de Bunow, a provost of Magdeburg, with the task of recovering the money collected by Marinus and Bartholomeus still in the possession of certain persons in the realms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia.⁵⁸⁵ He, of course, also received letters of recommendation, one of them directed to the Danish king, who was admonished to assist Gunther in taking action against the false collectors who worked in his kingdom and deceived the faithful Christians. He was instructed to confiscate the money and send it to the apostolic chamber.⁵⁸⁶ It soon became obvious that the area Gunther was to cover was simply too big for one person. The pope, therefore, appointed two other persons to assist Gunther in collecting the money.⁵⁸⁷ The new collectors in Scandinavia were privileged to grant the right to chose a confessor, who could grant indulgences with apostolic authority to those who contributed to the crusade during the next year and a half, starting from the upcoming Ascension Day.⁵⁸⁸ In January 1488, the papal accounts register a payment from Bartholomeus

⁵⁸¹ APS, 2:599–604 (no. 1472).

⁵⁸² APS, 2:609–10 (no. 1479).

⁵⁸³ APS, 2:615 (no. 1486).

⁵⁸⁴ APS, 2:615–16 (no. 1487).

⁵⁸⁵ APS, 2:616–18 (no. 1488).

⁵⁸⁶ APS, 2:619 (no. 1490). Cf. *ibid.*, 618–19 (no. 1489).

⁵⁸⁷ APS, 2:621–24 (no. 1493).

⁵⁸⁸ APS, 2:624–25 (no. 1494).

de Camerino of 2.000 gold florins collected in Denmark and Sweden, of which 2.347 florins was used immediately for distribution among soldiers of the *sancte Romane ecclesie* in the ongoing war.⁵⁸⁹

Although King Hans must have given his consent to the crusade-plan that was presented in Rome in 1490, according to which soldiers from the Nordic kingdoms were to form part of one of the great armies that were to be sent against the Turk, Hans had many problems of his own besides war with the Swedes that prevented him from giving much thought to the crusade against the Turks.⁵⁹⁰ He did, though, possess one of the three keys that were used to lock the coffers containing the money collected for the crusade in his kingdom.⁵⁹¹ He sent a legate to Pope Julius II with a letter explaining that he had too many enemies at home to send soldiers for the crusade.⁵⁹² He thus spoke from experience when he advised his relative King James IV of Scotland not to go on a crusade in 1507.⁵⁹³ Luckily the nuns in the abbey of Bosö performed “gudfrucktighets öfningar”—pious deeds—in order to appease God so he would not allow the evil intent of the Turk to succeed.⁵⁹⁴ King Hans’ reluctance did not, however, prevent the popes from trying to persuade him to join the crusade against the Turks.

When Julius II was elected pope in 1503, one of the most important articles of his election capitulation provided that he was to summon a general council to restore peace to Christendom, reform the Church, and organize a new crusade against the Turks.⁵⁹⁵ The papal legate in the North, Raymond Peraudi, managed to negotiate peace between Hans and the city of Lübeck in 1503. In 1504, Raymond returned to Rome and the pope immediately wrote to Hans and praised him for having decided to make peace with Lübeck. He reminded him of

⁵⁸⁹ APS, 2:633 (no. 1506).

⁵⁹⁰ For the plan see *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 165–68 (no. 53).

⁵⁹¹ His brother Frederik of Holstein, who later became Frederik I, also possessed a key for the chests containing the money collected in his lands, Rørdam 1864, pp. 109–10 and 115. For this arrangement cf. Schuchard 2000, p. 145.

⁵⁹² The letter was known to the Danish sixteenth century historian Hans Svaning, who cited the contents in his Hans Svaning, *Chronicon sive historia Iohannis Regis Dania* (cf. Rep. II, 7:278 (no. 12565)). Peter Zeeberg generously provided me with provisional copies of his new edition of the Latin text as well as his Danish translation, for which I am more than grateful.

⁵⁹³ *Køng Hans’s Brevbog*, pp. 14–15 (no. 22). For James IV and the crusades, cf. Macquarrie 1984, pp. 105–21, although I am not convinced that the plans were really just “castles in the air” in the sense that they should not be taken seriously.

⁵⁹⁴ APD, 6:556 (no. 5203).

⁵⁹⁵ Setton 1976–84, 3:10 with n. 54.

the eastern question, to which Hans could now turn, and cautioned him to preserve the crusading funds collected by Raymond Peraudi during his recent mission to the northern kingdoms.⁵⁹⁶ But once again the Swedes got in the way. Continuous warfare with both Sweden and Lübeck marked the following years until 1512, when the Swedes opened peace negotiations.

The recently elected Emperor Maximilian wrote to King Hans in June 1511 and told of the most recent political events in Italy: How he entered the League of Cambrai in 1508 with the pope and the kings of France and Aragon, first against the Venetians and second with the intention of organizing a new crusade.⁵⁹⁷ But the pope had turned against his allies the letter continued. The pope had used the sword not to fight for the holy faith or against the enemies of Christendom, but against the Christians and the servants of the church only out of greed for money and land.⁵⁹⁸ But when he realized that he was not going anywhere, he once again started peace negotiations with the emperor. The emperor knew that this was only a charade. The emperor, however, wanted all Christian princes to make peace and then proceed on a crusade against the Turks and the enemies of the holy Christian faith. He had then succeeded in negotiating a new league consisting of himself, the French, the pope, and other princes in order to organize a new crusade against the Turks.⁵⁹⁹ The emperor was very pleased with the result, and he really believed that he had united the Christian princes against the enemies of the holy faith. But the Venetians had turned against the plan. The emperor had the right to force them to submission and the pope a duty to support him, the letter states.⁶⁰⁰ The emperor now informed Hans of all this and invited him to a general council that had been decided in order to put an end to the war among the Christians and to organize a new crusade against the non-Christians.⁶⁰¹

In May 1512, the Emperor Maximilian again wrote to Hans. He told of the sad state within Christianity that Hans no doubt was well aware of, especially concerning the war between the pope and

⁵⁹⁶ APD, 5:413 (no. 3993–94). On Raymond's dealings with Denmark, see Rørdam 1864; Paulus 1900, p. 677.

⁵⁹⁷ *Missiver*, 2:312–30 (no. 253), at p. 317.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 323–24.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

the king of Aragon on the one side and the king of France on the other.⁶⁰² He wanted to make clear just how much Christian blood had been shed in this war, resulting in the death of many great men who would otherwise have been able to fight against the enemies of the holy faith. Had they only united their strength instead of fighting each other and fought the enemies of the holy faith—as was the duty of every Christian prince—they could easily have driven the Turks from Europe and made a great advance into Asia.⁶⁰³ The possibility of a common front against the Turks is made impossible by this great hatred and animosity towards each other among the Christian princes, the emperor lamented. But the Turks are weakened by great internal conflicts as well, and it would be easy to overpower them, if only this hatred could be overcome and a common expedition could be agreed upon, as Hans could see personally from the letters that the Master of the Knights of Saint John had sent to the emperor from Rhodes. Unfortunately these letters are no longer to be found together with the imperial letter and Danish transcript.

The emperor wrote how badly he had always wanted to see this come true. He had always worked for peace between the pope and the Christian princes. Now he asked King Hans and other Christian princes to help him in this work. It should have been done a long time ago. If only the many who had fallen on both sides during the war in Italy had been sent against the Turks and other Muhammedans (“Turcos et alios Mahumetanos/Turcker och Machmeter”), they would easily have conquered Greece and the holy city of Jerusalem. But it is futile to lament what has already passed. It is much more useful to consider what should be done to prevent greater evils in the future.⁶⁰⁴ It is to be feared, the emperor wrote, that the Turks when learning of the great turmoil within Christendom will put an end to their internal conflict and fall upon Christianity. He then urged King Hans as a Christian prince who loved the true faith, to work to prevent such danger and despair that threatens Christianity, and admonished him to help negotiate peace and concord between the pope and the princes.⁶⁰⁵ Even better, when

⁶⁰² *Missiver*, 2:356–62 (no. 279).

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 357–58: “Europa facile Turcis fuisset erepta et magnus progressus in Asia factus/lettelligen fraataget thee Turcker Europam oc giordt eth stort andfald indt vdi Asia”.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 360–61.

the peace had been settled, King Hans should in cooperation with the other kings of Europe work to negotiate a new crusade against the Turks: that “when peace has been established in Christendom an attack ought to be made against the enemies and ill-wishers of the holy faith. It would be both usefull and beneficial and it cannot be delayed without great injury and danger to Christendom. To attack them now, would be easy and would result in the protection and advance of the holy faith”.⁶⁰⁶ To have King Hans leading negotiations for a new common Christian crusade against the Turks perhaps does not fit well with his previous correspondence and attitudes towards the crusade. But was it unconceivable? Not, apparently, to Emperor Maximilian.

In January 1513, Pope Julius II wrote to the bishop of Roskilde Lauge Urne that he was delighted to hear of the peace negotiations between Denmark and Sweden. They could now put an end to the shedding of Christian blood and instead turn their weapons against the Turk. Hopefully in the end they would manage to win back Jerusalem.⁶⁰⁷ The message was repeated in more general terms in February the same year when the pope appealed for peace within Christendom and suggested that if Christians had to shed their blood in expiation of their sins, they should rather do so on a crusade against the Turk.⁶⁰⁸ The situation in the North had changed with the peace negotiations of 1512, as the letter from the pope also bears witness to. Both pope and emperor saw a possibility in winning Hans for the crusade. It is interesting to note that they both mention the possibility of winning back Jerusalem for Christianity. Perhaps Hans would indeed have been part of a new crusade. Unfortunately, King Hans died in February 1513 after a fall from a horse.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 361–62: “at nar christendommen er kommen till menighe friidt oc endrechtighedt, matte giøres indtfald ind paa then hellige troes fiender oc vwenner, oc waare thet bode nytteligt oc gaffnligt, och kand thet icke forholdes vdhen menigge christenhedens store forderff oc fare, hwilcket indfald paa them at giøre er nw Ganske lett och kwnde fwlkommes then hellige troo till beskremelsæ och forøgelse, Gud alsommechtugste till loff, huilcken som vndne ether nade lycksalighe framgangh efftir ethers nades begeringh”/“pace vniversali inter [chris]tianos composita, arma in fidei [host]es verti possint et tam vtiles quam necessaria [nec] pretermittenda nisi ap[er]to [discrimin]e n[ost]ro et totius christiane reipublice expeditio, que tam facilis hoc tempore ostenditur, [perfic?]i possit ad conseruationem et incrementum fidei et religionis nostre et ad laudem omnipotentis [Dei], qui serenitati vestre prosperos ad vota successus concedat”.

⁶⁰⁷ APD, 5:624 (no. 4343).

⁶⁰⁸ Setton 1976–84, 3:138.

Christian II and the Crusade: Part I

Pope Julius II died on 21 February 1513 and his successor was elected in March. Pope Leo X wrote to King Hans' successor, Christian II (1513–23), in April and congratulated him on his accession to the throne and at the same time admonished him not to go to war with England, as the pope wanted all Christian princes to unite against the Turk.⁶⁰⁹ In September, he issued a crusade bull against the Turks and Sultan Selim I, who with their allies “Tatars and Moscowites” attacked Poland and Hungary. He admonished everybody, but especially the inhabitants in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, to support the papal legate Thomas Bakocz. He promised full remission of sins to all participants and the same indulgence as during the Jubilees. The church in Scandinavia and in other places should pay a tithe in support of the crusade.⁶¹⁰ At the eighth session of the Lateran Council in December 1513, Leo X again admonished the Christian princes to make peace in order to fight the enemies of the Christian faith, more specifically the Turks and the Bohemian heretics.⁶¹¹ In May 1514, a general Christian truce was negotiated by among others delegates from Christian II in Rome to facilitate crusade against the enemies of the cross—heretics and Turks. Pope Leo X immediately ordered that it should be made known in all churches and monasteries. Special collects should be performed during the ordinary mass, everywhere the word of God was preached, and in the sermons that were said in chapters or convents or to any kind of congregation “pro pace christianorum et infidelium confusione”. The collects were: *Deus a quo sancta desideria* and *Deus in cuius manu sunt omnes potestates et omnia jura regnorum, respice in auxilium christianorum*.⁶¹² Every ecclesiastical person of either sex within the dioceses should be ordered and urged to say pious prayers for peace and the extermination of the infidels. At the same time, the entire church should work to persuade

⁶⁰⁹ APD, 6:8 (no. 4354); APD, 7:667 (no. 6320). I have consulted the text of the letter (APD no. 4354) printed in *Monumenta*, ed. Westphalen, 2:980–81, which according to the editors of the APD is falsely dated. On Leo X and the crusade see Setton 1976–84, 3:142–97; Setton 1969.

⁶¹⁰ APD, 6:28 (no. 4392); RayAnn, 12:47–50.

⁶¹¹ *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, pp. 606–8.

⁶¹² The first prayer had been used for a long time as a Holy Land clamor and was included in two North German masses against the Turks dating from the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century respectively, Linder 2003, pp. 256–61, 268–72. The second is found in the missal from Schleswig, cf. below appendix A.

the whole of the secular community to uphold the peace and support the crusade.⁶¹³

But Christian II had problems of his own, which cut across these crusade initiatives. He had not been crowned in Sweden, and immediately he made contact with the Russians to form an alliance against their common enemies, especially, of course, Sten Sture the younger the governor of Sweden.⁶¹⁴ Pope Julius II preached a crusade against the Russians in 1510⁶¹⁵ and—as just mentioned—when a crusade was preached in 1513, they were put in league with the Turks. Rumours circulated of a union between the Turks and the Russians in these years in Europe.⁶¹⁶ That did not, however, prevent Christian II from signing a treaty with Vasilii III Ivanovich of Russia on 2 August 1513; and in 1518 Christian wrote Vasilii and reminded him of an earlier letter, where he had asked for some saltpetre to be used against their common enemy, Sten Sture.⁶¹⁷ Emperor Maximilian also contemplated an alliance with Vasilii in 1514 against Sigismund I of Poland. This alliance was seen as a grave threat to all of Christendom by contemporaries.⁶¹⁸ Danish alliances with Russia at least were dangerous to Sweden.

In 1517, Sten Sture imprisoned the Swedish archbishop, Gustav Trolle, who was a strong supporter of the Union. Sten Sture broke down his castle, plundered his see, and in his stead the papal collector John Angelus Archimboldus was installed as the new archbishop. When Sten Sture defended his actions at a council later that year, he accused Gustav Trolle of seeking support from the schismatic Russians, enemies of the Christian name, against Sten Sture. Gustav Trolle accused Sten Sture of being a Lutheran heretic and had gathered accusations against him to have him prosecuted at the Curia. In 1519, when Sten Sture refused to come to Rome to explain and defend his

⁶¹³ *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, pp. 609–14.

⁶¹⁴ *Nya Källor*, pp. 582–84, 616–24 (no. 320, 342–45). At the death of King Hans the Swedes also immediately sought peace with Russia, *ibid.*, pp. 571–74, 578–79 (no. 314–15, 317).

⁶¹⁵ Tengström 1997, 1:136.

⁶¹⁶ Tengström 1997, 1:173–75.

⁶¹⁷ *Nya Källor*, pp. 650–55, 690–91 (no. 365, 386). In 1519 Søren Nordby admonished Christian to ask Vasilii for a number of men to assist him in a raid into Finland, *ibid.*, pp. 699–701 (no. 391). No wonder that Sten Sture thought of the “un-mild Russians” as the “heathen enemies of the Christian faith and the Swedish realm” in 1516 in a letter calling for a meeting of the national council to decide what to do about Christian II and the Russians, FMU, 7:433 (no. 5890).

⁶¹⁸ Tengström 1997, 1:156.

actions, he was excommunicated, and Sweden placed under interdict. The papal judge, Hieronimus of Asculum, who had been sent to the North, judged in favour of Gustav Trolle and ordered the accused to go to Rome immediately. Otherwise they would be handed over to the secular arm. This should be seen as part of the preparations for calling a Danish crusade against Sweden.⁶¹⁹ It never got as far as this. In 1520, Christian invaded Sweden and in a series of battles, during one of which Sten Sture was fatally injured, he managed to take control of the country. In September, Stockholm surrendered and Christian II was crowned in *Storkyrkan* as king of Sweden on 4 November followed by the 'blood-bath' of Stockholm. Shortly afterwards, Christian II complained to the pope of Archimboldus, who was accused of having sown "a heresy that would have destroyed all devotion to the Mother Church, led to contempt of the plenitudo potestatis, and created a schism not inferior to the Russian schism if God had not intervened". A crusade bull was never issued but the campaign was in all aspects argued as a crusade. That should come as no surprise as Christian II in all other respects presented himself as a crusading king.

In 1518, Christian gave his consent to the Emperor Maximilian's grandiose crusade plan that had been worked out in the first years of Leo X's pontificate.⁶²⁰ Peace was, of course, a necessary prerequisite. In March 1518, after the plans had been worked out and the great powers heard, Leo X issued a bull declaring a five years' truce among all Christian princes and powers. The bull was published with every solemnity in the presence of the pope and the cardinals in the basilica of S. Maria sopra Minerva on 14 March. The mass of the Holy Spirit was celebrated by one of the cardinals, and the pope's secretary, the humanist Jacopo Sadoleto, delivered an address which sketched the past successes of the Turks, the terrors attending their conquests, and the measures now to be taken against them. Sadoleto took special notice of the emperor Maximilian's grandiose plan of a three years war against the Turks, and mentioned one by one the favourable responses of the princes to the pope's appeal—Francis I of France, Charles of Spain, Henry VIII of England, Manuel of Portugal, Louis of Hungary, Sigismund I of Poland, Christian II of Denmark, and James V of

⁶¹⁹ Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 348–51.

⁶²⁰ Setton 1976–84, 3:142–97, esp. pp. 172–97; Setton 1969; Göllner 1961–78, 3:68–78.

Scotland.⁶²¹ According to the diary of the Venetian ambassador Marinus Sanudo [the younger], the oration was later printed.⁶²² Numerous treatises were written in support of the crusade against the Turks. The imperial councillor Richard Bartholin for instance admonished the emperor to go on and liberate Jerusalem as Godfrey of Bouillon and the other leaders of the First Crusade had done.⁶²³ But Christian II also had crusade plans of his own. Early in 1521 he received a letter from his admiral Søren Nordby that the great crusade fleet that had been sanctioned by the pope two years earlier would be ready to set sail after Easter. The destination was Garðar—the old bishopric on Greenland. This Greenland crusade rarely figures in accounts even of late medieval crusading, perhaps because it was abandoned at the last minute. But it was in fact only the last of a series of expeditions that were sent into the North Atlantic in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with the dual ambition of reclaiming Greenland for the Danish crown and even to push further into India and the mythical realm of Prester John. The Danish crusades to Greenland and India will be the subject of the next chapter.

⁶²¹ Setton 1976–84, 3:180. Cf. APD, 6:214–15, 216 (no. 4656, 4658–59). See also the plan printed, Marino Sanudo [the younger], *Diarii*, 25:94–106.

⁶²² Marino Sanudo [the younger], *Diarii*, 25:305, 321–22.

⁶²³ *Ulrichi Hutteni equitis Germani Opera*, 5:206–300, example at p. 257.

CHAPTER TWO

GREENLAND AND THE CRUSADES

Greenland and the crusades are rarely mentioned in the same breath.¹ Arguably, there have been several good reasons for this. In the Middle Ages, Greenland was at the edge of the known world, covered in ice and fog, a place where strange sea-monsters tumbled in the deep black sea. Against whom would you be crusading there and for what purpose? At least since the early fifteenth century it was argued that Greenland had been lost to the heathens. It meant that the northern frontier of Christendom and the Danish kings stretched far into the North Atlantic. This part of the frontier was both real and imagined but it became very important in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The purpose was not only to reclaim what had been lost—which included the rich products normally associated with Greenland like sealskin, walrus teeth and hides, blubber etc. but also fine furs from sable and martens that in the early sixteenth century were believed to live in the great Greenlandic forests—but to use Greenland as a stepping stone for further exploration. When Christian II in 1514 applied to the pope for indulgences for participants in an expedition to the islands on the other side of the North Pole, there can be no doubt that he meant India. Apparently, this expedition came to nothing, but in 1519 he planned a new crusade aimed at reconquering Greenland from the hands of the heathens. This crusade—that was only given up at the last minute due to events in Sweden leading to his deposition and exile from Denmark in 1523—is to be seen as part of the same ambition for reasons that will be investigated further in this chapter. These plans were in fact a continuation of plans and expeditions carried out by his grandfather, Christian I, probably in the 1470s shortly after or about the same time as the Norse settlements, which were founded in the final decades of the tenth century, were abandoned. Even though the settlements were abandoned and the “Northern mists” thickened around the coasts of Greenland in the fifteenth century, it did not become an impenetrable

¹ Parts of this chapter appeared in an earlier version in Danish as J. M. Jensen 2004b.

darkness. Greenland was never forgotten and ships continued to make landfall although not always of their own free will. Efforts were made not only to reclaim what was lost but even to go beyond. No one seems to have considered the reports of heathen attacks on Greenland in the framework of the northern crusade frontier described in the previous chapter. It will be the purpose of the present chapter to show that these frontiers were indeed closely linked. The implications of this, it will be argued, will influence our understanding of the Danish involvement in the North Atlantic exploration of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, an involvement which should be understood within the general context of the crusades.

The Forgotten Periphery

In the last decades of the tenth century, Scandinavians settled in two areas—the so-called Western and Eastern Settlements—on the west coast of Greenland.² According to *Íslendingabók* written by the Icelandic historian Ari Þorgilsson the Learned (1068–1148) probably between 1122 and 1125, a man called Erik the Red led a fleet of settlers from Iceland to Greenland in 985 or 986.³ Most of these first settlers were heathens themselves, but some of the people who were on board the fleet were most likely Christians. At least one Christian man took part and composed a poem telling of the voyage, whose refrain asked for the prayers of monks for protection.⁴ Christianity was, however, introduced shortly afterwards and the majority of the Greenlanders converted during the eleventh century. The archaeological finds bear witness to the fact that the Greenlanders were as religious as people everywhere else in Scandinavia were.⁵ The church as an institution

² For general histories of Norse Greenland cf. Bruun 1931; P. Nørlund 1967; Krogh 1982; Ingstad 1959; Gad 1967; Arneborg 1993; Jones 1986. The sources are conveniently gathered in GHM, although due to its age some of the information has to be used with caution. I have aimed at quoting the later editions of the sources as well if such exist.

³ *Íslendingabók*, p. 8; GHM, 1:168–71; Jones 1986, p. 148. Ari is generally believed to be a very reliable source, but some think that he is not reliable about dates and that the settlement took place somewhat later cf. Halldórsson 1978, pp. xiv–xv; Seaver 1996, p. 15.

⁴ *Grœnlendinga saga*, pp. 365–66 (ÍF, p. 245); GHM, 3:209. He was from The Western Isles.

⁵ P. Nørlund 1967, pp. 26–51.

was probably established relatively shortly after the conversion.⁶ The written sources give with some variation the number of churches as twelve in the Eastern Settlement and three in the Western Settlement.⁷ This picture can to some extent be confirmed by the archaeological excavations.⁸ There were two monastic institutions on Greenland: The Augustinian canons in Ketilsfjord (Tasermiut) and the Benedictine convent in Hrafnarfjord (Unartoq at Narssarsuaq), probably founded towards the end of the twelfth century.⁹ Greenland got its first bishop in 1121, Erik Gnipsson Upse, who might have had his episcopal see in the Western Settlement.¹⁰ His successor Arnald arrived in Greenland in 1126, where he and succeeding bishops took residence at Garðar in the Eastern Settlement.¹¹

With the establishment of the church, Greenland also became part of the common crusade effort of Christendom not least through the paying of taxes. At least since the Council of Lyons in 1274 crusade tithes were collected on Greenland albeit somewhat reluctantly and with some difficulty.¹² A six-year crusade tithe was issued for the war against the enemies of the faith by the council of Vienne in 1311–12.¹³ This six-year tithe in “aid of the Christian on the other side of the sea, who is cruelly suppressed by the infidels” was collected all over

⁶ Cf. Arneborg 1990.

⁷ GHM, 3:246–47. Cf. Trap 1970, pp. 405–8 and 466–67 with maps; Jónsson 1899.

⁸ Clemmesen 1911; Roussel 1941; Vebæk 1991. Cf. Jansen 1972, pp. 102–18. Lots of fascinating archaeological research is going on in these years and references can be found in Seaver 2004 and Arneborg 1991, pp. 96–149, who provides a discussion of the material with relevance for the present investigation. For the older archaeological reports I have consulted the following as an orientation: Holm 1883; Bruun 1895; Bruun 1918; Nørlund with Roussel 1930; Nørlund & Stensberger 1934; Roussel 1936.

⁹ Ívar Bárðarson, p. 23. Cf. Vebæk, pp. 22–81 for excavations of the nunnery.

¹⁰ GHM, 3:7; Ívar Bárðarson, p. 29 (GHM, 3:258–59); Roussel 1936, p. 28. According to the Icelandic annals, Erik went on a journey in 1112 that might have gone to Greenland, but it is probably just as likely that he went to Norway and Denmark, where he was to be invested in Lund by the archbishop of all of the Scandinavian countries at the time, Asser of Lund (1103/4–37).

¹¹ GHM, 2:680–87. The only written account of Arnald's time in Greenland is *Grænlandinga þáttur*, written in the late twelfth century based on older sources, *Grænlandinga þáttur*, pp. 391–411 (ÍF, pp. 271–92); Halldórsson 1978, pp. 103–16, 401–5; Halldórsson 1993, p. 160; Seaver 2004, p. 32.

¹² DN, 6:34–38 (nos. 35–39); DN, 1:59–61, 64–71 (nos. 66–68, 71–73, 75, 77–78); DN, 17:14–15 (no. 14); GHM, 3:93–94 (no. 16); *Regesta Norvegica*, 2:123–24 (nos. 292–95). Cf. Seaver 1996, pp. 73–76.

¹³ *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, pp. 336–60.

Scandinavia.¹⁴ In 1326, Johannes de Serone and Bertrand de Ortolis were appointed papal legates and collectors of the crusading tithe in Norway and Sweden.¹⁵ They arrived in Norway late in 1326 or in early 1327, accompanied by two merchants from Montpellier and several agents.¹⁶ It was not an easy task to collect the money, according to their reports. First of all, they had to avoid the many robbers (the word “latrones” perhaps should be translated as mercenaries, of which there were many in Scandinavia in these years) of the countryside and were forced to hire twelve knights of Saint John for protection. Just as in Denmark, the payment was made very reluctantly and events more than indicate that the first papal expedition sent out to collect the tithes and other payments to the curia from Norway was not warmly received. Even the weather was against them at times before they arrived back in Avignon in 1328.¹⁷ The legates managed to collect some money, but the pope was not satisfied and in 1330 sent a new legation under the leadership of Pierre Gervais that lasted to 1334. The report shows that the bishops of Oslo were threatened with excommunication and interdict by Gervais and only then did they manage to find the means to pay off the debt in June 1334.¹⁸

In 1327, Bertrand de Ortolis and Johannes Serone received the tithe from Greenland in walrus teeth that Flemish merchants converted into money that could then be used for the crusade.¹⁹ In 1326, the Norwegians applied for a part of the Vienne crusade tithe to conduct crusades against the heretical Russians and their allies the heathen Karelians, and King Magnus Eriksson was allowed “half or a third”

¹⁴ In Denmark: DD II/9:23–25 (no. 27–29); DD II/10:145–51, 215–17, 218–19 (nos. 139–46, 226, 228–29). In 1323, the prior of the Knights of Saint John in Eskilstuna in Sweden was ordered to transfer the amount collected in Sweden to Denmark, DD II/9:8 (no. 10). For Norway cf. DN, 6:119–29, 137–38, 140–43 (nos. 112–18, 123, 126–27). For Iceland: *Biskupa sögur*, 3:310; *Íslandske Annaler*, p. 149. Cf. in general Housley 1986.

¹⁵ DN, 6:120–21 (no. 112).

¹⁶ The most recent treatment of the mission is Jørgensen & Saletnich 1999, pp. 81–99, 137–39, 156–64, which also includes new additional material from the Vatican archives.

¹⁷ Jørgensen & Saletnich 1999, pp. 91–99.

¹⁸ Jørgensen & Saletnich 1999, pp. 91, 98, 138 and docs. 17 and 23 at pp. 156–57, 159; *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs- og Dagböger*, pp. 121, 125.

¹⁹ GHM, 3:112–13 (no. 27). Walrus teeth and hides are said to be the most important products from Greenland in *The King's Mirror*, p. 142 (GHM 3:326–27). Cf. Arneborg 1993, p. 181; Roesdahl 1995. For a discussion of the latter, see also Seaver 2004, pp. 71–75.

of the tithe collected.²⁰ The year after, in 1327, the pope stressed that he had only granted a certain *part* and not the *entire* crusade tithe to the king.²¹ The Norwegian government apparently accepted this, as can be seen from the account of what had been collected in the different parts of the realm. The tithe from Greenland is also mentioned among the amounts as *XII librarum XIII sol. Turon argenti*, which corresponds to the amount that the walrus teeth had produced on the European market.²² Perhaps the collection of tithes on Greenland in this instance had been more smooth than back in Norway or in Jutland in Denmark, where the papal collectors seem to have had trouble collecting the money as the bishops had a tendency to be ‘away on business’ when the legates arrived to collect the tithes.²³ In my view, it is a wonderful image of the universality of the crusade of western Christendom that walrus teeth from Greenland—probably caught in the Disco Bay area—were used after having been converted into cash by Flemish merchants to finance crusades against the enemies of the cross, both in northern Norway and as distantly removed as in the Holy Land.

The Skrælings

With the conversion of the Greenlanders and the establishment of the church in the twelfth century, Greenland also became Christendom’s most western frontier: According to the *Historia Norwegie* written in the third quarter of the twelfth century, Greenland was

settled and confirmed in the Catholic faith by Icelanders, [and] marks the western boundary of Europe.²⁴

The description of Greenland as a Christian frontier is underlined by the presence of heathen peoples called Skrælings by the northernes. The Norse encountered the Skrælings during the journeys to North America described in the *Vinland sagas* and on Greenland and in Arctic Canada during hunting expeditions to *Nordrseta*—the northern hunting grounds

²⁰ DN, 6:121–23 (no. 113); *Samlinger til det Norske Folks Sprog og Historie*, 5:551–53.

²¹ DN, 6:146 (no. 129).

²² DS, 5:70–73 (no. 2675). Excerpt in GHM, 3:113–14 (no. 28); referred in Suhm 1782–1828, 12:173–74.

²³ *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs- og Dagböger*, pp. 80–134. Cf. K. V. Jensen 2000a, pp. 46–50.

²⁴ *Historia Norwegie*, pp. 54–55. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 11–24 for dating.

on Greenland.²⁵ It will be necessary to take a look at how the heathens were described in order to appreciate how this influenced perceptions not only of the heathens but also of the geography of Greenland and the lands beyond in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

In the twelfth century, the sources mention the presence of these heathens on Greenland. Arí Þorgilsson told in his *Íslendingabók* that when Erik the Red towards the end of the tenth century took possession of Greenland, they found traces “that the same kind of people had passed that way as those that inhabited Vinland, whom the Greenlanders call Skrælings”.²⁶ In *Historia Nowegie* it is said:

Farther north beyond the Greenlanders, hunters have come across dwarves (homunciones) whom they call Skrælings. If these creatures are struck with weapons and survive, their wounds grow white without bleeding, but if the blows are fatal the blood scarcely stops flowing. They are totally without iron and employ walrus teeth as missiles, sharp stones as knives.²⁷

It is possible, as argued by Jette Arneborg, that these descriptions are not the result of an actual encounter, but simply reflect the Vinland tradition in its oral form. The archaeological evidence for contact between the Norse and the Eskimos is also very ambiguous because it is very difficult to date precisely.²⁸ The finds indicate that an actual encounter did not take place on Greenland until the first half of the thirteenth century, although some of the material actually points to the middle of the twelfth century.²⁹ There are nevertheless good reasons for considering Greenland as a kind of crusade frontier in its own right. Shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century, the “priests in Garðar”, which must have included the bishop, Oluf (1246–1280), even sent an expedition towards the north in search of these heathens.³⁰ It is tempting to see the small ivory carved figure showing a

²⁵ These hunting grounds were most likely found in the Disco Bay area, but also further north on the west coast of Greenland up to about 73° north and the Canadian Lancaster Sound area, Gad 1967, pp. 108–11; Seaver 2004, pp. 31–33.

²⁶ *Íslendingabók*, p. 8; GHM, 1:168–71; Jones 1986, p. 148.

²⁷ *Historia Norvegie*, 1:9–10, pp. 54–55. See also the old edition *Historia Norvegiæ*, p. 76. A strange echo of this description found its way into the work *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq* of the geographer al-Idrisi written on Sicily in the middle of the twelfth century, McGhee 1984, pp. 11–12.

²⁸ Arneborg 1991.

²⁹ Cf. McGhee 1984, pp. 12–20.

³⁰ GHM, 3:234–46. Cf. Gad 1967, pp. 168–69; Arneborg 1991, pp. 35–36. The information is found in a letter, which is only preserved in a seventeenth century transcription in the so-called *Greenland Annals* (*Grænlands annál*) written by Björn Jónsson

man wearing a long tunic with a pectoral cross found at a Thule site on the south side of Baffin Island in the context of this expedition, or something just like it. It is generally agreed that this is an Inuit carving representing a European that should probably be dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.³¹ Would it be totally unthinkable to imagine a crusader at the “western border of Christendom”, taking part in an expedition against the heathens? It would perhaps seem stranger today than in the Middle Ages. The sources do not explicitly mention people from Greenland participating in the crusades to the Holy Land, but in view of the many Nordic crusade fleets that set sail from the North Atlantic—from Norway, Orkney, and Iceland—it is almost unthinkable that people from Greenland should not be found on board some of the ships.³² There were close connections between the countries and the social environments were very similar.³³ There is no reason to assume that the cultural encounter with the heathens on Greenland or in North America in the same period would have been perceived any differently from the rest of Scandinavia, where crusading ideals had such a profound influence.

The encounter between the heathen and the Norsemen who travelled to the coasts of North America and Newfoundland is described in *Grœnlendinga saga* and *Eiríks saga rauða*, commonly referred to as the *Vinland sagas*. According to the Icelandic historian Ólafur Halldórsson,

of Skardsá. According to Halldórsson the collection originated with Jón the learned Gudmundsson around 1623 and was revised by Björn Jonsson around 1643, Halldórsson 1978, pp. 53–55, 147.

³¹ The interpretation of the carving is, however, widely disputed ranging from a possible member of the military orders to a pregnant woman: Gullov 1983, esp. p. 126; Jones 1986, pp. 276–83; Schlederman 1982; Schlederman 1993; McGhee 1984, pp. 16–17; Mary-Rousselière 1984, pp. 590–93; Seaver 1996, pp. 39–40; Seaver 2004, pp. 50–51.

³² Cf. for examples Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, 3:231–32; *Orkneyinga saga*, pp. 113, 208–39 (English trans, pp. 213, 285–304); *Magnúss saga skemmri*, pp. 320–21 (English trans. *Magnus’ Saga*); Doxey 1996; Antonsson 2001, pp. 15–32. A twelfth century itinerary from the north coast of Iceland to Jerusalem by the benedictine abbot, Nikulás of Munkaþverá, has been preserved in a late fourteenth-century Icelandic manuscript (AM 194, 8^o) which includes another twelfth-century description of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as well as texts describing the relics at other major cult sites in Constantinople and the West, edited in *Alfræði Íslenzk.* For a discussion of the manuscript, itinerary and pilgrim-routes from Scandinavia in the twelfth century, J. M. Jensen 2004e; J. Hill 1983; Kedar & Westergård-Nielsen 1978–1979; Magoun 1944; Springer 1950. Some pilgrims from Greenland are mentioned in the sources, GHM, 2:605, 765; 3:9, 35, 435–41.

³³ Cf. De Geer 1985, p. 89; Lind 1992, pp. 238–42; Lind 2001, pp. 133–37.

they were written down at the beginning of the thirteenth century.³⁴ They are, however, only preserved in somewhat later copies. *Grænland-ínga saga* is made up of three interpolations in an expanded version of the saga of King Olav Tryggvason in the late fourteenth century codex called *Flateyjarbók*. *Eiríks saga rauða* is found in two codexes called *Hauksbók* and *Skálholtsbók*. The former collection was written for and partly by the Icelandic chieftain Hauk Erlendsson, who died in 1334. He was a descendant of Thorfinn Karlsefni, whose role in the travels to Vinland is emphasized in this saga, and this version therefore tends to embellish Karlsefni's role.³⁵ The latter and youngest of the codexes is therefore believed to be the most reliable. Halldórsson argues that it was written by the Icelander Olaf Loptsson around 1420.³⁶ It is therefore not surprising to find the meeting described within a Christian context although based on older oral transmission.

In *Grænlandínga saga*, the narrative clearly reveals Christian influence upon the description of the meeting. Thorvald, who was the brother of Leif Eriksson, discovered during his stay in North America three boats made out of hides with three people under each. He and his men immediately attacked them and killed them all except for one who escaped. When they subsequently searched the area, they were overpowered by weariness and fell asleep. A supernatural loud cry that warned them of an immanent danger woke them up. They saw that a multitude of skin-boats had appeared in the bay. Thorvald and his men took to flight and sailed away under cover of large war-boards. One of the arrows the Skrælings shot at them mortally wounded Thorvald, however. Dying, he admonished his men to go back to Greenland, but before they left he asked that they should bury him at the promontory where he had planned to make his settlement and raise two crosses—one by his feet and one by his head. Hereafter they should name the place “Krossanes” (literally: Cape Cross).³⁷

During the large scale attempt to colonize North America under the leadership of Thorfinn Karlsefni and Snorre described in *Eiríks saga rauða*, it also came to an encounter with the local population, which

³⁴ Halldórsson, pp. 293–406.

³⁵ For this reason *Eiríks saga rauða* is called *Thorfinn Karlsefnis saga* in GHM and the *Grænlandínga saga* is naturally but somewhat confusing called *Erik den Rødes saga* (*The Saga of Erik the Red*). Cf. Jansson 1958.

³⁶ Halldórsson 1978, p. 297.

³⁷ *Grænlandínga saga*, pp. 375–76 (ÍF, pp. 255–56); GHM, 1:228–30; Jones 1986, pp. 196–97.

ended in the same violent fashion.³⁸ Initially, the settlers and the local peoples began to trade. The Skrælings were particularly interested in the weapons of the northerners.³⁹ Both Thorfinn and Karlsefni prohibited their men from selling their weapons to the Skrælings. Quickly it came to conflict and a large skirmish with several casualties on both sides. Thereafter it was decided to abandon the settlement out of fear of the former inhabitants of the country. During the journey home they encountered more Skrælings. According to *Eiríks saga Rauða* they sailed along the coast northwards and came across five Skrælings lying asleep near the sea. Karlsefni and his men thought that they were outlaws from that country and killed them immediately. Then they sailed north from Vinland and came to Markland, where they encountered five more Skrælings, a man, two women, and two children. They captured the boys but the others sank into the ground. The boys were then baptized and taught the language of the Scandinavians. They told that two kings ruled over the Skrælings and that there were no houses in their kingdoms, but people lodged in caves or holes.⁴⁰ This saga also describes the death of Thorvald, but in this version it took place during the expedition of Karlsefni. More interesting, Thorvald was killed by a uniped! His men chased it for a long distance but it moved very fast. In the end, they had to give up the chase but not until they had sighted the lands of the unipeds on the horizon.⁴¹ Another random meeting between the Christians and the Skrælings is described

³⁸ *Eiríks saga rauða*, pp. 349–55 (ÍF, pp. 221–31); GHM, 3:406–31. Cf. the description in *Grœnlendinga saga*, pp. 381–84 (ÍF, pp. 260–64); GHM, 3:238–47; Jones 1986, pp. 222–231.

³⁹ At least one of the participants was a German called Tyrkir and two Scots—a man and a woman—who Leif Eriksson had been given as a gift by Olav Tryggvason were on board the ship of Karlsefni, *Eiríks saga Rauða*, p. 350 (ÍF, p. 223) (the Scots), *Grœnlendinga saga*, p. 375 (ÍF, pp. 252–53) (the German); GHM, 3:220–23, 410–13; Jones 1986, pp. 193–94, 223–24. The Scottish scouts should probably be interpreted as the scouts Moses and Aron sent to spy in the land of Canaan rather than real persons, cf. Jones 1986, pp. 283–85. The description of self-sown wheat and grapes in the lands discovered by the Norsemen should probably also be seen in a similar context as evidence that these lands were blessed with the essential ingredients for the communion, cf. Seaver 2004, pp. 41–42.

⁴⁰ *Eiríks saga Rauða*, pp. 356–57 (ÍF, pp. 230, 233–34); GHM, 3:430–31, 436–39; Jones 1986, pp. 229–31.

⁴¹ *Eiríks saga rauða*, pp. 355–56 (ÍF, pp. 231–32); GHM, 1:432–35; Jones 1986, pp. 229–30, 285. The fighting in Vinland is also described in *Eyrbyggja saga*, in ÍF, pp. 135–36; GHM 1:716–19. This saga was written around the middle of the thirteenth century. Cf. for the journeys to Vinland and the place of landing, *Vikíngernes sejlads til Nordamerika* (trans. as *Viking Voyages*); Jones 1986, pp. 285–302.

in the so-called *Floamanna saga* when a person by the name of Thorgils sighted two “female trolls” parting a “creature of the sea”. Instantly he ran towards them and struck at one of them with his sword. With the blow, he chopped off her hand “so she dropped her bundle and ran away”.⁴² In contrast to the other events, this incident took place in Greenland.⁴³

From a critical point of view, these sagas are poor sources for a possible encounter with the Skrælings in North America in the first half of the eleventh century.⁴⁴ On the other hand, they are first hand sources for the notion of heathen peoples living in lands to the west of Greenland in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries, where the meeting obviously is described in a Christian context. As it will become apparent, some of the elements in these stories are also apparent in the early fifteenth century cartographers’ descriptions of the far north.

The Skrælings have loomed large in theories concerning the abandonment of the Norse settlements—especially concerning the Western Settlement. Only in the fourteenth century did the Skrælings get into more regular contact with the Norse on Greenland without, however, becoming actual neighbours. Hostilities between the Norse and the Skrælings did on the other hand take place. The Icelandic annals tell under the year 1379 that “the Skrælings made hostile attacks on the Greenlanders, killed 18 men and dragged two boys into captivity”.⁴⁵ Whether it was a revenge raid, an isolated event, or an expression of general hostilities between the two peoples it is impossible to say anything positive about, but there is no apparent reason to doubt the information. However, leaving the very dubious Eskimo legends aside, Jette Arneborg has shown beyond doubt that the few sources on which the assumption is based cannot be taken as evidence that Skræling attacks led to the demise of the Western Settlement.⁴⁶

Around the middle of the fourteenth century two royal officials were ordered to set sail for Greenland. These expeditions have been interpreted as the Norwegian king’s move to resist or counter the attacks of the heathens. In the 1340s it was Ívar Bárðarson and in 1354,

⁴² GHM, 2:108–9.

⁴³ Arneborg 1991, pp. 24–27.

⁴⁴ Cf. Arneborg 1991, pp. 39–42. See also the hyper-critical Jansen, pp. 49–67.

⁴⁵ GHM, 3:32–33.

⁴⁶ Arneborg 1988. The archaeological evidence gives no indication of fighting or destructions caused by war or warlike circumstances, cf. the works of Arneborg.

King Magnus II Eriksson ordered a certain Powell Knutsson to sail to Greenland with instructions to see to it that the Christian faith was preserved.⁴⁷ Jette Arneborg's explanation for the events behind these expeditions is compelling. In the 1340s, the bishop of Bergen and the royal official responsible for collecting taxes from the tributary lands complained to King Magnus that their subjects refused to pay the taxes to the king and to the bishop, who was also privileged to a share of the income. It is in this context interesting that the royal ombudsman Ívar Bárðarson received a passport from the bishop of Bergen to go to Greenland in 1341 and the bishop appointed a new bishop of Garðar despite the fact that the see was already occupied. As on Iceland, the great landowners also owned the churches on Greenland and it seems reasonable to think that the church-owners on Greenland tried to avoid paying taxes. The purpose of Ívar Bárðarson's journey was probably also to make a registration of the Greenland churches on behalf of the Norwegian king. When Ívar eventually got back to Norway many years later in 1364, he dictated a report. It is only known in much later copies but its most recent editor, Finnur Jónsson, thinks that the content might be close to the original. It is the most detailed description of the Eastern settlement from the Middle Ages. Concerning the Western Settlement it is simply stated that:

The Skrælings are now in possession of the Western Settlement. Horses, goats, cows and sheep, all animals are left behind but there are no people neither Christian nor heathen.⁴⁸

To the text is then added that Ívar was appointed by the royal official to go to the Western Settlement to expel the Skrælings.⁴⁹ It is, however, very unlikely that the abandonment of the settlement was a result of

⁴⁷ DN, 21:67 (no. 83); GHM 3:120–23 (no. 37). According to the Latin work of the bishop of Skálholt on Iceland, Gisle Oddson, *Annalium in Islandia Farrago*, written in the 1630s, “the Greenlanders of their free will fell from the true faith and religion of the Christians after having denounced all good customs and true virtues and turned to the population of America . . . therefore the Christians stopped sailing to Greenland”. In his youth, he would have had access to the archive in Skálholt that went up in flames in 1630, GHM, 3:459–60. Arneborg [1988] is most likely justified in assuming that the original source would have talked about the fall from the true faith. That they turned to the native population of America would together with the explanation for the loss of contact with Greenland then be Gisle Oddson's learned comments; in any circumstance a medieval author would not have used the term “America”.

⁴⁸ Ívar Bárðarson, p. 29, “Nu haffue Skrelinge all Vesterbijgden vdt, tha er ther nog heste, geder, nød och faar, alt vilt, och inthet folck enthen christen eller heden”.

⁴⁹ Ívar Bárðarson, pp. 29–30 (GHM, 3:256–59): “vdneffinder aff laugmader ath fare till Vesterbijgdt emod the Skrelinge, ath udriffve the Skrelinge vdaff Vesterbijgdt”.

Skræling attacks, as is usually argued.⁵⁰ At best, Ívar was to expel the Skrælings that had taken possession of an already abandoned settlement. The addition is probably an early sixteenth century interpolation and what is left is a remark that the Skrælings now ruled in an abandoned settlement, although they apparently were not present when Ívar was there. The settlement must have been left recently and within the same year, as horses and cows that would not have survived the arctic winter were still alive. Both Kirsten Seaver and Arneborg hint at the possibility that the inhabitants simply fled before the man who was sent out to collect taxes by force and who, according to the 'original' text, seemed rather surprised to find the settlement empty. The addition was probably made in the early sixteenth century when Ívar's report was being studied in preparation of the crusade to reconquer Greenland. By then it was believed that Greenland was lost to the heathens for reasons that will be discussed later.

It is very likely that the 1354 expedition was indeed intended to force the Greenlanders to pay the crusade tithe, as argued by Jette Arneborg, and not against the Skrælings, as has been formerly been argued by William Thalbitzer and Helge Ingstad and others.⁵¹ King Magnus II Eriksson was, as seen in chapter 1, given the entire crusade tithes issued in 1346 and 1351. In 1355, the payment of the four-year tithe was due, and he was hard pressed for money after the failure of his Russian crusades and by papal creditors. The picture painted of the generally sad state of the Greenlanders in the fourteenth century has also been abandoned recently, and the fact that the ship from Greenland landed richly laden with goods and products from Greenland in Bergen in 1346 makes it very likely that the Greenlanders were reluctant to pay rather than being incapable of it. The Black Death that struck Norway hard made it possible for the Greenlanders to avoid paying. There is no evidence that the expedition of Powell Knutsson ever set sail. There can on the other hand be no doubt that there was a connection between the planning of the expedition and the crusade efforts on the eastern frontier.⁵² It underlines how Greenland was involved in the crusades of the Norwegian and Swedish king in the middle of the fourteenth century, which must hold true whether the expedition

⁵⁰ See Arneborg 1991; Arneborg 1988; Arneborg 1993.

⁵¹ Thalbitzer 1948; Ingstad 1959, p. 357; Arneborg 1988, pp. 302–5. Cf. also Seaver 1996, p. 103; Seaver 2004, p. 55.

⁵² Thalbitzer 1948 also stresses this point.

was directed against Skraelings or aimed at collecting funds for the Russian crusades. And it was still argued that the expedition aimed at preserving the Christian faith on Greenland. But the context was not Eskimo attacks. It is more than doubtful, whether the main reason for the demise of the settlements is to be found here despite the single report of hostilities as shown by Jette Arneborg. Many different factors made it in the end impossible to uphold life at the outermost edge of the world.⁵³ Although the settlements were abandoned in the first half of the fifteenth century the idea of heathen peoples living north of Greenland was not.

The Heathens of the Far North

As mentioned in chapter 1, the Norwegian kings had conducted crusades against the Russians and their allies the heathen Karelians as well as a number of other heathen peoples living at their eastern and northern frontier, at least since the thirteenth century.⁵⁴ These crusades were, as we saw, in part financed by crusading tithes collected from Greenland. From the founding of the Kalmar Union this war was of course a matter for the Danish regents. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the Russian chronicles relate of several armed conflicts between the Norwegians and the Karelians and of mutual raids of plunder and revenge. They were not simply small frontier skirmishes. In 1419, the Norwegian army consisted of “500 men on ships and boats”. The conflict also had obvious religious overtones with the burning of orthodox churches and monasteries.⁵⁵ But northern Norway was not the only place where the Karelians attacked the lands of the Danish king.

In the 1420s a Danish academic, who was living and studying in Rome, Claudius Clavus, wrote that he had seen with his own eyes how the heathen Karelians came down on Greenland in large armies, undoubtedly from the other side of the North Pole.⁵⁶ Greenland was believed to be connected to Europe through an unknown land at the

⁵³ Cf. also the review of the different theories in Fyllingsnes 1990.

⁵⁴ Cf. Lindkvist 2001; Johnsen 1923, pp. 24–40; Christiansen 1997, pp. 177–98.

⁵⁵ *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, pp. 181, 189, 200–1, 203. Cf. Johnsen 1923, pp. 28–29; Storm 1893–94, p. 100.

⁵⁶ Bjørnbo & Petersen 1909, pp. 144–45. Originally published in Danish, Bjørnbo & Petersen 1904, here p. 179. The German translation is a revised version of the text. For the identity of Clavus, cf. Storm 1889 and 1891.

North Pole, as can be seen from the map he produced of the North. This belief can be traced at least as far back as *The King's Mirror*, written for the Norwegian king in the middle of the thirteenth century. It was argued in *The King's Mirror* that because there lived such animals on Greenland as lived only on the continent and rarely on islands, Greenland was continental and connected to some mainland.⁵⁷ One legend mentioned in the sagas relates that a person called Hall Ged (the goat) had travelled from Greenland all the way to Norway across this land. He got his name because he survived by milking a goat he had brought with him for food.⁵⁸ In an Icelandic manuscript that also contained a twelfth century itinerary from Iceland to Jerusalem is found other geographical information concerning the far North. The manuscript was written on Iceland in 1387 by Óláfr Ormsson. The geographical texts are placed together under the heading *Landafræði*. The information concerning the far north should probably be traced back to older sources. It relates:

Northeast of Norway is Finmarken. The country turns against east and then towards the southeast until you come to Bjarmaland [probably Russia, JMJ]. From Bjarmaland stretches the uninhabited lands towards northeast to Greenland... Southwest of Greenland is Helluland, then Markland. From thence there is not far to Vinland, which some believe extends from Africa.⁵⁹

This description seems to confirm the belief expressed in *The King's Mirror* that Greenland has a continental connection.

There was, however, another tradition going back at least to the chronicle of Adam of Bremen written around 1070, according to which Greenland could also be described as an island.⁶⁰ It figures on several

⁵⁷ *The King's Mirror*, pp. 141–43; GHM 3:324–27.

⁵⁸ GHM 3:524–26.

⁵⁹ *Alfredi Islenzk*, p. 11; GHM 3:216–17. Cf. Bjørnbo 1912, pp. 81–89, esp. at pp. 82–84; Seaver 2004, pp. 236–44 who argues against the view presented by Bjørnbo. According to Seaver, he did not pay enough attention to the Norse understanding of the world as a globe. She believes that Vinland should be understood as extending from the east coast of Africa instead of from the west, as indicated by Bjørnbo. Seaver's interpretation is possible although her illustrations leave very little room for Asia. I am not convinced that Bjørnbo's descriptions could not be fitted unto a globe. In any case—as far as I can see—it will not influence the present argument. A related manuscript (cf. J. M. Jensen 2004e) AM 736 4° also contains a very similar description, printed in GHM, 3:216–18 and in the text called *Gripla* only known from the *Greenlandic Annals* by Björn Jónsson, GHM, 3:222–26. Cf. the mostly outdated comments and editions of these and other texts relating to this matter in *Antiquitates Americanae*.

⁶⁰ Adam of Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 3.24–25, 3.73, 4.36–37, pp.

maps and other representations as such well into the sixteenth century. The fiercely disputed Vinland Map, which—if it is genuine—dates from around 1440, also depicts Greenland as an island. This map is a very problematic source and serious doubts can be cast on its authenticity, as for instance shown by Kirsten Seaver. It will therefore not be discussed further here. Even if the map was genuine it would probably not—as stressed by Kirsten Seaver—be evidence of a living tradition for sailing to North America communicated from the North to Rome.⁶¹ One important early fifteenth century source not discussed by Seaver, however, described Greenland as an island. In the astronomical work by the Danish Dominican Nicholaus de Dacia, who came from Lund, called *Libri tres anaglypharum* contained in a manuscript at the British Museum, a few leaves with geographical information are found.⁶² After Scotland comes Orkney and then “Tile”—i.e. Iceland—after eight days of sailing towards the northwest. Then from the Northern part of Norway comes “Etiflandria”—a variation of a name *Estitolande* etc. usually found north of Norway on early maps. “There the sea is so cold that it is virtually almost frozen”, Nicholaus de Dacia writes. He then states that there live polar bears (*ursi albi ferocissimi*) “that break the ice with their feet and dive into the sea to catch fish, bringing them to the shore where they live”. It is impossible to grow corn, and cattle cannot live there either. People dress in the furs of wild animals and eat dried fish instead of bread. Then comes Greenland, *which is an island* (“Gronlandia insula”).⁶³ Nicholaus de Dacia’s book was also found in Venice and Krakow with excerpts found in numerous other places. The work should probably be dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, perhaps in the 1420s.⁶⁴ More than one learned Dane writing

166–68, 220–21, 271–74 [English trans., pp. 134–35, 180, 218]; *Adam af Bremens Krønike*, 3.24–25, 3.73, 4.36–37, pp. 156, 193, 231–32. Adam’s factual knowledge of Greenland does seem rather sporadic and the mention of Greenland should probably be seen as an expression of the political ambition of the archiepiscopal see rather than of the actual conditions, Jansen 1972, pp. 15–25. For this aspect of Adam’s chronicle, cf. Janson 1998. Information concerning Greenland might have come from the first native bishop of Iceland, Isleif, consecrated in Bremen in 1056, *Hingrvaka*, pp. 7–18; *Stories of the Bishops of Iceland*, pp. 35–45. Cf. *Tö isandske Biskepkrøniker*, pp. 11, 15, 34; Adam of Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 4.36, pp. 271–74 [English trans., pp. 216–18]; *Adam af Bremens Krønike*, 4.36, p. 231; Seaver 1996, p. 45.

⁶¹ Seaver 2004. Cf. Pope 2001, pp. 56–59.

⁶² Described by E. Jørgensen 1910–12, pp. 248–53.

⁶³ E. Jørgensen 1910–12, p. 251 quoting British Museum, Sloane Ms. 1680, fol. 93^v [my emphasis].

⁶⁴ E. Jørgensen 1910–12, pp. 251–52. The manuscript is dated ca. 1476. Nicholas de Dacia’s work needs to be further analysed and compared to the Vinland Map. Due

for an international audience was thus interested in the far North. Being a mathematical and astronomical work it would probably have been known to cartographers of the renaissance. But even more interestingly Nicholaus de Dacia also told that Greenland had been lost to the heathens: “To this island the Pygmies *recently* came sailing and after having expelled and killed the Christians they took possession of the country”.⁶⁵ It is of course possible that Nicholas de Dacia simply had the information from Clavus, but it is then remarkable that he had the pygmies make the attacks instead of the Kareliens, as argued by Clavus. And Clavus did not think that Greenland was an island.

Clavus wrote in the accompanying text of his map that towards the east a cross was placed that marked the border of the Danish king and no one was allowed to go beyond this mark “not even with a great retinue”. On the other side of the cross lived the wild Lapps who were completely covered in hair and paid the king an annual tax. Further towards the west lived the Pygmies, who were two feet tall and whom Clavus claimed to have seen after they had been caught at sea in a small boat that was now placed in the Cathedral of Trondheim. In the cathedral was also kept a long vessel made out of hides that had also been captured with pygmies on board [see fig. 5].⁶⁶ These pygmies are very likely referring to the *Skrælings*.

Both map and text of Clavus were produced in an older and younger version.⁶⁷ The older version was made between 1413 and 1424 in Rome, where Clavus studied and lived and had connections to the inner circles of the pope.⁶⁸ Both map and accompanying text of the older version have been preserved together in a copy made in Italy in 1427 by Cardinal William Fillastre [the Elder] and afterwards brought to Nancy in France where it was discovered in the nineteenth century.⁶⁹

to the wide distribution of the work it might have served as a source for describing Greenland as an island in the fifteenth century, and the question needs to be addressed before Seaver's arguments in her well written, highly interesting, although somewhat polemical book can be considered binding, although it will most likely not provide a testimony in favour of the map's authenticity.

⁶⁵ E. Jørgensen 1910–12, p. 251: “Ad quam [Gronlandia insula] *in eis temporis* adhuc Pigmei navigio pervenientes christianis inde expulsis et interfectis, terram possiderunt” [My emphasis].

⁶⁶ Bjørnbo & Petersen 1909, pp. 144–45; Bjørnbo & Petersen 1904, pp. 178–79.

⁶⁷ Bjørnbo & Petersen 1909, pp. 19–72; Bjørnbo & Petersen 1904, pp. 70–132; Bjørnbo 1912, pp. 89–119.

⁶⁸ Storm 1889 and 1891.

⁶⁹ Danish text in Bjørnbo 1912, p. 92. and map p. 91, fig. 9.

The younger version has a more complex history of transmission as map and text have been preserved separately. It was made between 1425 and 1427. The two cartographers Germanus and Martellus knew the younger map in northern Italy around the 1470s.⁷⁰ The younger text was discovered in Vienna, where it formed the basis for two German cartographer's description of the North in the works of Johann Schöner and Franz Friedlieb (Irenicus) that were published in 1515 and 1518. The text probably came to Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century, perhaps brought there by Johann Virdung. Johann Virdung was a German astronomer. He was born in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and died around 1550.⁷¹ All that is known of his life is what he tells us himself in his writings. He came from Hassfurt and made scientific journeys through Germany, France and Italy. He was called to Denmark by Christian II to "explain the Genesis". He tells that from Copenhagen he also journeyed "ad alios Cimbriae regulos". It is not known where in Germany he worked, but perhaps in Mainz because he dedicated one of his books to the archbishop there.⁷² Franz Friedlieb relates in his *History of Germania*, printed in 1518, that Virdung had many things to tell about the North and that Clavus had "at the request of the Danish king made a map of all of Denmark". It is thus possible that Virdung carried a copy of the text with him.⁷³ From what source Virdung had the information that Erik of Pomerania had requested Clavus to draw the map is no longer possible to ascertain. It is, however, striking that Erik visited Rome between Clavus' two versions during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁷⁴ Even though this tradition is placed within the context of the younger version, it cannot be ruled out that Erik had made the request much earlier and originally in connection with the older version. Despite the fact that the tradition is late

⁷⁰ Bjørnbo dates it more precisely between 1466–1482, Bjørnbo 1912, pp. 102–6 and 129–52, with fig. 11 at p. 105. Cf. Martellus' maps edited in *Anecdota Cartographica Septentrionalia*, facs. II–III and pp. 5–6. A later copy based on the younger version, however, has been identified dating from around 1467. Reproduced in N. E. Nørlund 1944, pl. 3; Nordenskiöld 1889, pl. 30; Bjørnbo & Petersen identify two types of maps depicting Greenland: the A-type where Greenland is placed correctly and the B-type where Greenland is placed north of Norway.

⁷¹ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 40:9–10.

⁷² He also had a devout student in J. Curio (Hofmann) who lived and taught mathematics in Ingolstadt, Heidelberg, and Mainz between 1497 and 1572, cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 40:9.

⁷³ Bjørnbo & Petersen 1909, p. 62; Bjørnbo & Petersen 1904, pp. 99–130.

⁷⁴ Cf. above p. 61.

and only known through Virdung, it is on the other hand not unlikely. Erik would in any case have been interested in a map of his realms and thus the work of Clavus, even if he had not been its instigator in the first place. It is, however, likely that this was in fact the case.

Erik defended and protected his rights to the trade in the North Atlantic including Greenland, Norway and Finmarken, especially against the English, whose presence on Iceland is recorded from 1408 or 1409.⁷⁵ It was an encroachment on the privilege of the merchants of Bergen, who had monopoly on the trade with the Norwegian Atlantic colonies.⁷⁶ In 1413, Erik of Pomerania prohibited the Icelanders from trading with foreigners other than those they had been accustomed to in the past, and he filed official complaints at the English court in 1415 and in 1431 to English ambassadors in Copenhagen of illegal English trade and fishing.⁷⁷ It resulted in 1432 in a treaty where both sides mutually agreed not to trade illegally on the other part's lands, mentioned in an English edict in 1444, during the reign of Christopher of Bavaria (1440–48).⁷⁸ A treaty was negotiated in 1449, lasting for two years during the reign of Christian I (1448–81).⁷⁹ The effectiveness of the enforcement of these agreements was probably not very great. Kirsten Seaver rightly points to the fact that English merchants and fishermen continued to set sail for Norway, Finmarken, and Iceland. They probably would have been aware of the existence of Greenland. They might have sailed there and perhaps even pushed further in search of good fishing banks. It is also correct that both Erik of Pomerania and Christian I used their energy and resources on struggles elsewhere and in the process seemingly neglected their former colonies. That is not the same as forgetting about the existence of Greenland or royal

⁷⁵ DI, 16:220–29 (no. 77–80); Þorsteinsson 1957–61, pp. 67–73.

⁷⁶ DI, 4:324–36 (no. 381–84). Cf. for the English-Hanse conflict in the North Atlantic in the fifteenth century, Lloyd 1991, pp. 108–234.

⁷⁷ For 1413: *Íslandske Annaler*, p. 291. The prohibition was repeated in 1425, DI, 4:324–36 (no. 381–384); *Íslandske Annaler*, pp. 293–94. For 1415: DI, 16:220–29 (nos. 77–80); *Íslandske Annaler*, pp. 291–93; GHM, 3:160–63 (no. 59). Cf. Þorsteinsson 1957–61, pp. 68–69; Seaver 1996, pp. 165–67. For 1431: DN, 20:69–70 (no. 794). It is known only from the chronicle of Huitfeldt, and he states that the complaint only concerned Norway and Finmarken. The same year the Icelandic Alþing wrote a petition to Erik concerning matters on Iceland, concerning the English presence that however perhaps did not reach the king, Seaver 1996, pp. 184–85. It is possible that Huitfeldt excluded Iceland for unknown reasons as he can be proven in other instances only to reproduce certain parts of the documents he had in front of him.

⁷⁸ DI, 4:523–25, 651 (no. 558, 694).

⁷⁹ GHM, 3:163. Cf. Seaver 1996, pp. 159–91; Þorsteinsson 1957–61, pp. 69–72.

privileges on the trade and fishing in the North Atlantic. Erik's trade policies and his efforts to forward national trade were at the expense of former Hanse privileges as mentioned in chapter 1. As Seaver also shows, the question of trade in Erik's lands would have included the North Atlantic, and English and Hanse merchants were in constant conflict over this issue. Even though events elsewhere prevented Erik from actively showing interest in Greenland, he would not simply have given up his rights. Perhaps Erik's interest in Clavus' work and the explanation for the eyewitness-account of Clavus of Karelian attacks is to be found in this context: If Greenland was to be reclaimed for the Danish king, it was an important argument that it had been lost to the heathens.

Both versions of Clavus' text place the heathen Karelians north of Greenland.⁸⁰ It was in fact standard knowledge at the time in these circles that the Karelians lived north of Greenland. According to a late fourteenth century itinerary originating in Bruges, it is said: "From Iceland across the sea to Greenland, then [come] the Karelians, who are a monstrous people".⁸¹ The notion perhaps originated from the maps that were produced by the professional Venetian cartographer, Pietro Vesconte, for the crusade treatise *Liber Secretorum fidelium Crucis*, written by Marino Sanudo.⁸² Sanudo worked hard to see his plan realized.⁸³ The maps were widely distributed all over Europe and sometimes the Karelians were placed correctly, but at times they were placed in the sea north of Norway.⁸⁴ It is only in the younger version of Clavus' work, however, from about 1425–27, that the attacks of the Karelians are described. Between the two versions, Clavus according to his text visited Scandinavia, although it is uncertain whether he also came to Greenland as his text sometimes seems to indicate.⁸⁵ It is thus possible

⁸⁰ A reproduction of the map is found in N. E. Nørlund 1944, pl. 2. Reproduced here as fig. 5.

⁸¹ Lelewel 1857, pp. 281–308, at p. 287: "De Ysland usque Groenland per mare... deinde usque kareli... est enim populus monstruosus". The manuscript is a copy from around 1500. It contains several geographical treatises and itineraries to Jerusalem.

⁸² Marino Sanudo dictus Torsellus, *Liber Secretorum fidelium Crucis*, in which his letters (2:289–316) and several of the maps are also printed, cf. the 1972 reprint of Sanudo's treatise, pp. ix–xii, xviii–xix; Bjørnbo 1909, pp. 210–12; Kretschmer 1891, 1–19 with plates 8 and 9.

⁸³ Tyerman 1982.

⁸⁴ Bjørnbo 1912, p. 120 and the maps pp. 122–23, figs. 12–13.

⁸⁵ Bjørnbo seems to have changed his mind compared to opinion expressed in his

that Clavus combined the information of heathen attacks in the North and the location of the Karelians north of Greenland. But because Nicholaus de Dacia and Claudius Clavus both claimed that Greenland had been exposed to heathen attacks, I think it is safe to assume that it was indeed argued at the time that Greenland had been lost to the heathens. This belief was expressed in a papal bull only slightly later.

In 1448, Pope Nicholas V was shocked and disturbed to learn of heathen attacks on Greenland, as he wrote in a papal bull issued that year. According to the bull, the Greenlanders had been Christian for 600 years and had nourished their fervent piety with regular divine service until thirty years ago when:

The barbarians came from the neighbouring coasts of the heathens and invaded the country, attacked cruelly the people there and devastated the country and the sacred edifices by fire and sword.⁸⁶

Many were dragged into captivity. Years later, some returned to their country to rebuild their ruined villages. Having overcome famine and want, they were now capable of supplying a few priests or a bishop and wanted to re-establish divine worship. They therefore petitioned the pope to reinstall both. The pope replied cautiously that although he had been moved by the report, he did not have sufficient information about the situation. He therefore admonished the bishops of Hólar and Skalholt without naming them to find priests and a bishop for the Greenlanders, when they had investigated the case thoroughly and found that it was both beneficial and advisable.

Some scholars have seen the bull as a result of a fraud in Rome and all of the information untrustworthy. The most likely candidate for the (mis)information is Marcellus, who we met in chapter 1. In the same month as the letter concerning Greenland was issued, Marcellus was nominated to the see of Skalholt and appointed as papal collector in the North. As we saw, he was not unused to the practice of producing

works in his private correspondence with the Norwegian explorer Fridtjof Nansen, but he died before altering the text of his last work *Cartographia Groenlandica*, cf. the editors' preface in Bjørnbo 1912, p. xi. Kirsten Seaver is probably right to point out that Bjørnbo only agreed that Clavus did not go to Greenland prior to the first map, Seaver 2004, pp. 228–30. A connection might exist between Erik's stay and Clavus' journey, cf. above.

⁸⁶ DN, 6:554–56 (no. 527): “ex finitimis littoribus pagnanorum ante annos triginta classe nauali barbarj insurgentes cunctum habitatorum ibidem populum crudeli inuasione aggressi et ipsam patriam edesque sacras igne et gladio deuastantes”. Cf. GHM, 3:165–76 (no. 62).

misinformation. And virtually all the information in the bull is wrong. The papal bull has also played a prominent role in the explanation for the demise of the Eastern Settlement. The year of the supposed attacks on the Greenlanders corresponds roughly to the last written evidence for the inhabitation of the settlements. It concerns a marriage that took place in the Eastern settlement in 1408.⁸⁷ But if the Eskimos did not pose a real threat to the Norse, as Jette Arneborg has argued recently, the “field is theoretically open to the English, the Portuguese, the Basques, or the German Hansa”, as Kirsten Seaver notes.⁸⁸ It was however argued by early fifteenth century Danish scholars that Greenland was lost to either the Karelians or the Pygmies. It is most likely that the pope’s bull was based on these reports, either directly or through Marcellus. In my opinion, it is very uncertain if the pope’s letter really is evidence of heathen attacks on what must have been the last Greenlanders in 1418, or any attacks at all.

In this connection it is, however, of minor interest if these heathen attacks ever occurred. The important point is that they were said to have taken place! It should be placed within the context of the northern frontier that Christian I and Marcellus described in numerous letters to the pope and other Christian princes as seen in chapter 1. From the same time dates a letter that was sent to Pope Nicholas V from the North that described the kingdom of Norway.⁸⁹ It was discovered in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. The copy states that it was translated into French, probably from Latin. According to its editor Gustav Storm, it is related or identical to passages of the mid-fifteenth century geographical work, *La Salade*, written by Antoine de la Salla. It said that Norway was placed just below the North Pole and is so vast that towards the west (“vers occident”) it reached the borders of the Russians and Tartars.⁹⁰ In the forests of “Gronolonde” live “monsters of human like shape” all covered in hair and who are called “savage peoples” by the local population.

⁸⁷ The marriage took place in 1408 and was published in Iceland in 1409. It was testified by witnesses in 1414 and 1424, DI, 3:720–21, 756 (597, 632), 4:316–17 (no. 376); GHM, 3:145–50, 151–54, 155–58 (nos. 49, 52, 57). Cf. Ingstad 1959, pp. 523–28; Gad 1967, pp. 192–93. Against for instance Storm 1892, p. 399.

⁸⁸ Arneborg 1988, 1991, 1993; Seaver, pp. 175–76.

⁸⁹ Storm 1898–99.

⁹⁰ Storm 1898–99, pp. 1–2. Cf. Christian’s letters discussed in chapter 1.

If you go further west across the mountains of this land there live pygmies in the shape of small peoples, only two feet high. When they see people they gather and hide in the caves of the country like a horde of ants. You cannot defeat them as they do not wait for your attack. They eat raw meat and boiled fish.⁹¹

According to the letter, there also lived giants in these parts before you come to Finmarken. Both *Historia Nowegie* and Saxo Grammaticus also placed giants in these parts—the former also Amazons. In the early sixteenth century, it was believed that the “bellatrices Amazones” lived in both Asia Minor and the Orient and were of Danish descent.⁹² The letter to Nicholas V further relates that Norway towards the north in Finmarken bordered on flat countries where there lived three kinds of heathens, “Lapprens Rebiens et Hegrons”. It is said that they used to invade Norway but were now tributary to the king and their heathen religious customs are described.⁹³

As can be seen, there is a very close connection between the information provided by Clavus and Nicholaus de Dacia and the picture painted by Christian I when describing his northern frontier as already noted by Gustav Storm. He drew attention to the letter written by Christian to Alfonso of Aragon in 1456, where he mentioned the ferocious peoples living at his northern border: “Tartars, Cumans, Erpions, Manbres, and Lapps”,⁹⁴ which has similarity with the names mentioned in the anonymous letter. It is uncertain if the letter to Nicholas V is based on Clavus or older sources that describe the North.⁹⁵ It does show, however, that the description of heathen attacks on Greenland must be placed within a larger political context: In the far north, there was a sharp frontier towards the heathens. Christian lands had been lost or were under pressure as a result of the invasions of these heathens—and this argument was put forward in Rome.⁹⁶ The enemies of the Christian name

⁹¹ Storm 1898–99, p. 5.

⁹² Petrus Olai, *Chronica Regum Danorum*, pp. 72, 75.

⁹³ Storm 1898–99, p. 6.

⁹⁴ *Epistole Christiani I.*, pp. 367–69. Cf. Storm 1898–99, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Bjørnbo & Petersen 1909, p. 238. Gustav Storm was uncertain whether the letter was based on La Salade or the other way round, but he also believed that the letter must be based on an older description of the North, perhaps the lost work that has formerly been ascribed to the English monk, Nicholas of Lynn, written around 1360. This identification is now considered unlikely and Kirsten Seaver has suggested the compelling thesis that originally, it might have been based on the report by Ívar Bárðarson, Seaver 1996, pp. 132–37; Seaver 2004, pp. 219–22.

⁹⁶ I completely agree with Kirsten Seaver that there did not exist important ecclesiastical

also attacked in the North, and in the geographical and geo-political way of thinking in the Middle Ages, this would have made much more sense than it does today. There were other reasons for stressing that Greenland had been lost to the heathens. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, there was a more outspoken resistance among jurists to the idea that the pope could legitimise the expansion of Christianity, especially when the expansion reached further than former Christian lands.⁹⁷ The argument that Greenland had been lost to the heathens was therefore of great importance. Any attempt of winning back what had been lost could now be presented not only as a just war, but as a crusade. And it seems as if that was in fact the purpose.

Crusade in the Atlantic

From the late fourteenth century, crusading was taken into the Atlantic. The expansion into North Africa, the Atlantic, and along the coast of the African continent was of course dictated by economic and political motivations, both for the individuals that took part and the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile. On the other hand there can be no doubt that this expansion was considered and legitimised as crusades. The expeditions were granted indulgences and they were sanctioned by the papacy.⁹⁸ The contrary argument to the jurist's direct reservations towards the popes' right to sanction Christian expansion was that the popes could authorize conquest if it facilitated the work of missionary conversion. It in effect meant that the crusade could be taken into the new world. It was nonetheless debated in the middle of the sixteenth century, but as in the fifteenth century, the reservations of the jurists had very few practical consequences before the middle of the seventeenth century.⁹⁹

information channels from Norse Greenland to the papacy in the fifteenth century, and it might even be perfectly true that "the inhabitants of that country might as well have involved people living on the moon", Seaver 2004, pp. 69–70. The question here does not concern "real" knowledge in the modern sense, but what would have been considered real given the contemporary world-view.

⁹⁷ P. Russel 2001, pp. 135–66; Housley 1992, p. 309; Housley 2002, pp. 182–88; Muldoon 1979. Cf. *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 108–15 (no. 35–36) discussed above for similar arguments *pro et contra* for the crusades of the Teutonic Knights.

⁹⁸ *Bullarium patronatus Portugalie regum*; Witte 1953, 1954, 1956, and 1958; Russel 2001; Fernández-Armesto 1987, pp. 151–222; Housley 2002, pp. 180–88; France 2005, pp. 288–98.

⁹⁹ Muldoon 1979 and 1992; Housley 1992, pp. 304–21.

When the Portuguese under King João I and Henry the Navigator managed to conquer Ceuta in Morocco in 1415, it was proclaimed as a crusade and its success meant that it was celebrated as a great victory all over Europe—most likely also in Denmark, as it was recorded for instance in the chronicles of the North German cities.¹⁰⁰ Peter Russell has made the crusade one of the key factors in understanding the motivation behind the expansion undertaken by Henry the Navigator from 1415 to his death in 1460.¹⁰¹ Crusading ideals were as important to the initiators of this expansion as to the participants. Crusade ideals were the central themes in the romances that concerned the expansion, as shown by Jennifer Goodman.¹⁰² The expansion also attracted foreign knights in search of profit, honour and crusade. It was for instance two Norman knights, Jean IV de Bethancourt and Gadifer de la Salle who suggested conquering and Christianising the Canaries in 1402. In the chronicle of the conquest, written by two chaplains in 1403 and 1404, the expeditions, the war against the indigenous peoples and their own role are presented as crusades. They were equipped with papal bulls and sailed under banners of the cross and the Virgin Mary [see fig. 6].¹⁰³

The Portuguese chronicler Gomes Eannes de Azurara finished his Chronicle of the *Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* in 1453, while he was in charge of the royal archives. He presented the reasons behind the Portuguese expansion in a number of headlines. First, the zeal for pure knowledge. Second, commercial considerations. Third, the desire to ascertain the extent of Moorish power in Africa. Fourth, the wish to find some Christian king in those parts who would assist in the war against the Moors. The fifth and last, but not least, reason was to extend the faith. To these he adds a sixth, which he calls the root from which they all proceed—“the inclination of the heavenly wheels”. The horoscope of Henry the Navigator clearly showed that “this Lord should toil at high and mighty conquests, especially in seeking out things that were hidden from other men and secret”.¹⁰⁴ Commercial

¹⁰⁰ *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*, 3:78. Cf. Rogers 1961, pp. 8–9.

¹⁰¹ P. Russell 2001.

¹⁰² Goodman 1998.

¹⁰³ *Le Canarien. Cronicas francescas de la conquista de Canarian*. The chronicles have been treated by Goodman 1998, pp. 105–48. They are translated in *The Canarian or, Book of the Conquest and Conversion of the Canarians*. The crusade bull for the expedition is found *Le Canarien*, 1:412–14. Cf. Witte 1953, pp. 697–718; Russel 2001, pp. 264–90 for the further destiny and crusades to the Canaries.

¹⁰⁴ Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, 1:27–30.

reasons and the extension of the faith are not seen as contradictions. And in one point they converged: The fourth point can only mean that among the declared goals of the Portuguese expansion, one of the more prominent was the effort to reach India and the mythical realm of Prester John. There were to be found both immense riches as well as a prince who would assist Christendom in its crusading effort against Islam. The sources are indeed sparse but they suggest that some sort of cooperation existed between Denmark and Portugal in finding an alternative route to India in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁵ The cooperation took place on two fronts. Danish nobles participated in Portuguese crusades in Africa. The other front was in the North Atlantic, and it went via Greenland.

The Southern Front

It is well known that Danes participated in the Portuguese crusades of the fifteenth century. Azurara writes in his chronicle that the “fame of the affair” had spread “through the different parts of the world”. It also reached the court of Christopher of Bavaria in 1448. “And as you see how noble men venture themselves with the desire to see and know such things, it came to pass that a gentleman of the household of that Prince, covetous of seeing the world, received his license and came to this realm”.¹⁰⁶ Vallarte—as this “gentleman” was named—was given charge of a caravel and sent on a mission to Cap Verde to negotiate with the apparently Christian king of the land, who had promised to assist the Infante and King Alfonso in their crusades against the Moors of Africa. Things turned out badly for Vallarte. When against all advice he went ashore to negotiate with some natives, he was grabbed, dragged away to captivity and never heard of again.¹⁰⁷ Another Danish knight by the name of Abelhardt was also sent to Africa to negotiate a pact with a local ruler along the coast.¹⁰⁸ They were just two of several similar expeditions sent out these years, which led to many casualties as local inhabitants along the coasts often attacked the Europeans in canoes,

¹⁰⁵ Larsen 1919; Svensson 1960. Larsen’s work was translated into English (Larsen 1924) and into Portuguese in 1983.

¹⁰⁶ Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, 2:280.

¹⁰⁷ Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, 2:280–86.

¹⁰⁸ Russel 2001, pp. 213–14.

using poisoned arrows.¹⁰⁹ The story ended happier for the “Pursuivant Lolland”—Lolland is a Danish island—who took part in the crusade of King Alfonso V of Portugal in North Africa in the late 1450s. Since October 1456, Alfonso had prepared for participation in the crusade called by Calixtus III, who had especially addressed both Alfonso and Henry the Navigator, praising their former crusade efforts. Alfonso was eager to assure Portugal a leading role in the crusade, which Calixtus had explained to Henry would be directed against mainland Turkey, hopefully leading to a withdrawal of the Turkish armies from Europe and perhaps even the extermination of the Turks as a people. Alfonso presented himself as the appropriate commander in chief and promised Calixtus a Portuguese fleet and a Portuguese army of 12,000 men. In the spring of 1457, the pope assured Alfonso that he would be placed in charge of the whole crusade army that would now be directed against Constantinople. However, the Aragonese king told Alfonso that he would not be able to fulfil his promise before his disputes with Genoa had been settled, but the resources of the Crown would be at the disposal of the Portuguese fleet carrying the expeditionary force, provided the crusaders would pay the Aragonese officials everything they demanded on the spot. Francesco Sforza of Milan as well as the councillors of Alfonso told him that he would put the possessions in North Africa in danger leading the army against the Turks, which prompted Alfonso to announce that he would go alone. When it became apparent by 1458 that the crusade would come to nothing he instead lead the waiting Portuguese fleet to North Africa where he took the city and fortress of Alcácer.¹¹⁰ On 11 July 1460, Alfonso wrote a letter to Christian I to tell him that the “pursuivant Lolland” had fought in the crusade at Alcácer. During the fighting, he had distinguished himself and had been knighted by Alfonso personally.¹¹¹ These are the only Danes recorded, but more may have existed. It should be underlined that as a participant in the crusade, you would of course receive the crusade indulgence granted to anyone who participated personally or simply supported the crusades

¹⁰⁹ Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, 2:252 ff.; Witte 1954, pp. 450–61.

¹¹⁰ Witte 1954, pp. 441–53, 809–836; P. Russell 2001, pp. 316–26. Cf. Setton 1976–84, 2:161–195; Marinesco 1935.

¹¹¹ *Diplomatarium Christierni I*, pp. 134–35. The Latin text with English translation can be found in Larsen 1924, pp. 17–19 and a German translation is found in Pini 1971, pp. 17–18. Cf. Dahlerup 2003, pp. 122–24; Albrechtsen 1997, pp. 227, 271.

in other ways.¹¹² Azurara also gave assurance that those who fell during the expeditions to Africa according to the indulgence granted by the pope—if they fulfilled the conditions of his decree—would be placed in the company of the saints. “Therefore we can say in justice to these men: “*Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur*”.”¹¹³

The Northern Front

The North Atlantic front is much debated. Let us first have a look at the sources before venturing into the debate. In 1551, the mayor of the city of Kiel, Karsten Grypp, wrote to the Danish King Christian III (1536–1559). According to his instructions to search out and buy paintings and books for the king, he had bought and sent two maps of the world from which the king could see that his country Greenland stretched towards the new world and those islands, which the Spanish and Portuguese had discovered. It was apparent that it was possible to get there across land just as you could get to Greenland from the castle Vardøhus in Lapland north of the polar circle.¹¹⁴ The second map was a map of Iceland. One of the legends on the map told that two admirals called Pinning and Pothorst had been dispatched to discover new lands by Christian I, who was requested to do this by Alfonso V.¹¹⁵ Both Didrik Pinning and Hans Pothorst came from the German city of Hildesheim. Very little is known of them and their expeditions, except that they were in the service of the Danish kings Christian I and King Hans. According the chronicler Paulus Helie, they and several other known corsairs of the time all met a violent end, which is probably not true.¹¹⁶ Didrik Pinning appears to have held an important position. In the 1478, he was appointed governor on Iceland, and both he and Pothorst played prominent roles during the Anglo-Danish Naval War 1484–90 when they patrolled the waters of the North Atlantic. Pinning accompanied King Hans as admiral of the fleet that went to Bergen in

¹¹² See for instance the papal bulls printed *Bullarium patronatus Portugaliae*, 1:19, 23–24 and *passim*.

¹¹³ Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, 2:256–57.

¹¹⁴ Vardøhus had originally been constructed around 1200 to protect the northern frontier from raids by Karelians and Russians.

¹¹⁵ DG, pp. 5–6 (no. 4); *Aktstykker til Oplysning om Grønlands Besejling*, pp. 309–11. The maps do no longer exist.

¹¹⁶ Hans Svanning, *Chronicon sive historia Iohannis Regis Daniae*, fol. O4^r-P1; Paulus Helie, *Chronicon Skibyense*, pp. 69–70. Cf. Hennig 1944–56, 4:247–82; Pini 1971; Daas 1882.

1486 and to Gotland in 1487. In 1489, he was present in Copenhagen with the Norwegian council paying homage to Christian II as king of Norway.¹¹⁷ Pothorst seems to have had some connection to the Danish city of Helsingør, where he made a donation to the Church of Saint Mary and had his name and image painted on the church wall.¹¹⁸

In 1919, the Danish historian Sofus Larsen presented the hypothesis that Pinning in 1473 headed a joint Danish-Portuguese expedition towards the north-west with the Portuguese envoy João Vaz Corte-Real and the pilot Jon Skolvus or Skolp, that discovered North America twenty years before Columbus.¹¹⁹ He based his conclusion upon several different sources that apparently had no connection, mainly three. First, Pinning and Pothorst probably reached the coast of Greenland where they might have put up a mark to re-claim the land for the Danish king, as was described on the famous *Carta Marina* of Olaus Magnus and from other sources, and they may even have had a hostile encounter with the Eskimos. Second, a globe from the 1530s by Gemma Frisius and Mercator depicts a small strait between North America and the Polar Continent. A legend explains that this is “the north polar strait through which the Portuguese have tried to reach the Orient, India and the Moluks”. North of the strait, the Globe carries an inscription: “The Quii people whom the Dane Johannes Scolvus reached around the year 1476”.¹²⁰ According to Axel Bjørnbo the information is likely to have come from a Portuguese map now lost. Third, according to a late Portuguese chronicler claiming to have his information from a lost charter, João Vaz Corte-Real was on an expedition in the North Atlantic before his nomination as governor of the Azores in 1476. Based on the letter by Karsten Grypp that indicated cooperation between Denmark and Portugal, Larsen then argued that these sources were in fact evidence of one combined Danish-Portuguese expedition of exploration.

Historians have since questioned whether Alfonso V of Portugal and Christian I actually worked together, but one does not have to accept the bold hypothesis of Sofus Larsen to uphold the possibility

¹¹⁷ Paul Pini's attempt to identify the “pursuivant Lolland” with Pinning is interesting but must remain a guess, Pini 1971, pp. 18–19.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Pini 1971, pp. 84–85 with plate.

¹¹⁹ Cf. above p. 183 n. 105.

¹²⁰ Bjørnbo 1912, pp. 255–56: “Quii populi, ad quos Ioannes Scoluuß danus peruenit circa annum 1476”. Some debate has existed concerning the exact nationality of this person. He was probably either a Dane or a Norwegian, cf. Storm 1886. Cf. also the attempt to identify Scolvus with Pothorst, Aubert 1916.

of cooperation or that such expeditions actually took place.¹²¹ Samuel Elliot Morison argued that the chronicler informing of the expedition of Corte-Real was late. The chronicler could in other instances be proved to be unreliable and should therefore be simply rejected. Morison, however, first of all intended to show that Corte-Real did not discover America before Columbus, and did not consider the Danish participation in the Portuguese crusades in Africa.¹²² David B. Quinn was less categorical but believed—probably with justification—that the vital evidence was lacking to *prove* the thesis. He said that Pinning and Pothorst could well have made a voyage to Greenland and that it was very likely that Corte-Real went on an expedition that just might have caught a glimpse of North America. But he stated that the joint expedition is highly unlikely, without, however, saying why.¹²³ Kirsten Seaver does take into consideration the Danish involvement in the Portuguese crusades, but she believes that Vallarte was simply an “impetuous troublemaker unlikely to be missed at home”, judged from the description by Azurara. This interpretation it is very difficult to accept and it will probably be more difficult to prove than Larsen’s hypothesis, since all that is known of Vallarte is Azurara’s account. That he went ashore against the advice of his followers might as easily be interpreted as zeal and it is hard to see that it should bear witness to his general behaviour as a trouble-maker in Denmark.

Kirsten Seaver might be justified in criticising Larsen’s suggestion that the pursuivant Lolland came to Portugal at the invitation of Henry the Navigator. But the basis for Seaver’s judgement “Danes had little useful information for Henry or anyone else at the time. They had no thought of exploring anywhere and were not even sending ships to their Norwegian colony in Greenland as we have seen” may be questioned.¹²⁴ She accuses Larsen for making a circular argument, but in fact she may just be dangerously close to falling into that trap herself. Larsen accepted the information provided in the legend on the now lost map of Iceland that Christian I sent out an expedition of exploration at the behest of Alfonso V on the basis that Danes had in fact participated in Portuguese crusades earlier. He then combined the information about Pinning and Pothorst making landfall on Greenland, that a Dane by the

¹²¹ Cf. Svensson 1960, pp. 110–67 and below.

¹²² Morison 1940, pp. 32–43; Morison 1971, pp. 89–94.

¹²³ Quinn 1975, pp. 58–59.

¹²⁴ Seaver 1996, pp. 199–205, 256–57.

name of Skolvus reached the “Quii people” north of the polar strait on Mercator’s globe, and an arctic or North Atlantic expedition by a Portuguese noble roughly at the same time in the 1470s to argue that these separate pieces of evidence in fact concerned one and the same expedition. It seems to me as if Larsen tried to explain the sources that hinted at not only Danish and Portuguese expeditions of exploration into the North Atlantic roughly at the same time, but also that they worked together, whereas Kirsten Seaver tries to explain them away. It is hard to see that Larsen’s line of argument is more circular than Seaver’s. She believes that Danes “had no thought of exploring anywhere”, which is underlined by the fact that they “were not even sending ships to their Norwegian colony in Greenland”. That is, of course, based on the assumption that there were still settlers on Greenland towards the end of the fifteenth century, and that the authorities in Denmark were well aware of this. The evidence for that assumption is, however, very thin indeed. The single piece of “hard” evidence that historians have based this notion on is the so-called Burgundian cap found among the graves at Hjerolfsnæs by the Danish archaeologist Poul Nørlund. He believed it to be a type of cap that became modern on the continent in the second half of the fifteenth century. Given some time-lap before this fashion came to Greenland it should probably be dated to around 1500 or a little later, which would then be the approximate date for the demise of the Eastern Settlement, as he concluded when he published his results in 1934.¹²⁵ The cap has however recently been dated by modern science to the fourteenth century and is more likely similar to caps worn by Icelandic women since the thirteenth century and depicted in Icelandic manuscripts dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Further dating of the clothes found in the oldest layers of the graveyard that Nørlund excavated placed them in the first half of the fifteenth century, which fits the cultural history dating of the clothes assigning them to a period from the late fourteenth to the early fifteenth century.¹²⁶ These results were published just after the publication of Seaver’s book.¹²⁷ They probably do not affect Seaver’s

¹²⁵ P. Nørlund 1967 [originally 1934].

¹²⁶ Arneborg 1996; Østergård 2003.

¹²⁷ In her latest discussion she is much more careful simply stating that “some of these garments appear to post-date the period of 1406–10, when contact between Greenland and Norway was last recorded”, but she refers to the discussion presented in Seaver 1996, chapter 7, which would then still be based on P. Nørlund’s dating and not the latest results, Seaver 2004, p. 47. In all other respects, it should be stated, her

overall argument that the Greenlanders abandoned the settlements of their own free choosing to seek their fortune elsewhere even if they do suggest that it happened earlier than Seaver thinks. Her explanation for the abandonment is that the Greenlanders moved to North America in the wake of Portuguese and English exploitation of the rich fishing banks of the North American coasts, most likely shortly before 1500 when the latter began to sail direct and no longer stopped at the Greenland settlements.¹²⁸ It is very probable that ships continued to land on Greenland for various different reasons as Seaver argues, but the evidence is not always clear whether the settlements were still inhabited. Even if they were, it remains a fact that the regular connection between the settlements and the Danish-Norwegian government had been cut for a long time when Christian I sent out his expeditions. But that simply does not warrant the conclusion that “Danes had no thought of exploring anywhere”—especially in the light of other powers’ contemporary expeditions.¹²⁹ Seaver is convinced that Larsen’s hypothesis must be wrong and then dismisses the individual pieces of evidence as well. These few scattered sources give evidence of Danish expeditions of exploration in the North Atlantic towards the end of the fifteenth century as well as Portuguese interest in the area at the same time. None of the historians who have treated them seems to have considered the expeditions within the larger framework of the crusades and the declared goal of reaching the realm of Prester John. It would provide good reasons for sending out expeditions towards Greenland from Denmark, and it might just be that Danes had something important to tell the Portuguese after all.

excellent study draws on the latest research on the graveyards on Greenland and the excavations of the “Farm Beneath the Sand” bearing witness of a population living under harsh conditions but in otherwise good health with possible contacts to North America, Seaver 2004, pp. 47–53, 59–66.

¹²⁸ Kirsten Seaver argues that there is not “a single instance of either documentary or archaeological evidence supporting the frequently made claim that the Eastern Settlement was essentially defunct as early as 1450. There are in fact indications that the end came several decades later, but there is no firm evidence either way”, and she admits that her own view has not changed, Seaver 2004, p. 66. The results based on the clothing—albeit with a margin extending into the second half of the fifteenth century but with the latest peak in 1436—could be considered evidence for a pre-1450 date, and thus influences *when* the Greenlanders chose to leave.

¹²⁹ The Danish historian C. F. Allen believed in the latter part of the nineteenth century that the expedition of Pinning and Pothorst should be seen in connection with the hopes of rich trade on Greenland, Allen 1864–72, 2:285–88. That is also probable, but I think one should consider it within the larger perspective.

Danish Crusades to India

It is not strange that both Danes and Portuguese would have thought that India could be reached by sailing towards Greenland. All the available information would have pointed in that direction. As mentioned above, a uniped killed Thorvald according to the saga of Erik the Red in the land beyond Greenland, and this land was connected to the land of the unipeds. This tradition was very much alive on Iceland in the fourteenth century in the version of the saga preserved in *Hauksbók*. The version written in 1420 by Olaf Loptsson, who was part of a group of men with connections to Erik of Pomerania, is perhaps the most interesting in this connection.¹³⁰ Olaf Loptsson wrote his version of the story at the same time as Clavus worked on his first versions of his map. In his first version's final form that we know from Cardinal Fillastre's copy, the land of the unipeds is depicted between the Pygmies and the Karelians in the unknown land at the North Pole [cf. fig. 5]. In the text, Clavus wrote:

From this promontory [Greenland] stretches a vast landmass towards the east all the way to Russia. Its northern parts are inhabited by the heathen Karelians, whose land stretches below the North Pole towards the Serer's of the east [the Chinese], wherefore the Polar Circle, which is north of us, is south of them.

From these observations it naturally followed that if Greenland could be circumnavigated, these lands could perhaps be reached. In the younger version Clavus reached exactly that conclusion, considering the Karelian armies' march across the unknown land at the North Pole:

The noble knight John Mandeville of England was not mistaken (dixit mendacium) after all when he said that he sailed from India to a Norwegian island.¹³¹

The many different peoples—unipeds, amazons, giants, wild men etc.—that lived at the northern frontier of the realms of the Danish kings in the fifteenth century, which also lived in or near India, undoubtedly would have led to the conviction that it was possible to reach India through these parts. At least it convinced Cardinal Fillastre [the Elder] when he copied Clavus' map in 1427. In his notes, he wrote,

¹³⁰ Cf. Seaver 1996, pp. 164–67, 194–95, 236–37 and p. 166 n. 36 above.

¹³¹ Bjørnbo & Petersen 1909, p. 145.

In these northern parts there live different peoples, among others uni-peds and Pymies and Giants *like in the Orient*, as can be seen from the map.¹³²

Such ideas could have been exchanged between Erik of Pomeralia—who apparently had something to do with the making of Clavus' map—and Dom Pedro of Portugal—the famous brother of Henry the Navigator—who met Erik during his travels around Europe. Dom Pedro was very interested in information concerning India and how to get in touch with the Oriental Christians.¹³³ It is not certain if the travels of Dom Pedro took him to Scandinavia, but they would undoubtedly have met while Erik was in the presence of King Sigismund in the 1420s, although they most likely did not fight side by side against the Turks and Hussites as claimed by Aenea Sylvio Piccolomini (Pius II).¹³⁴ It had long seemed as if King Vladislaus II of Poland would die without a male heir and his vast realms would instead go to his daughter. Although she had been promised in marriage to Duke Friedrich of Braunschweig, Erik hoped to realize a marriage between Vladislaus' daughter and his own cousin Bugislav of Pomerania, whom Erik had appointed as heir to the Scandinavian kingdoms, as he realized that he would not succeed in having any children. The marriage would have resulted in a vast empire, stretching from the Ice Sea to the Black Sea, but with the consummation of the marriage between the 76 year old Vladislaus and his young Lithuanian queen in 1424, such dreams were shattered.¹³⁵ Erik and Pedro were closely related because Erik was married to Pedro's niece, Philippa. He was thus also related to Isabella of Portugal, the sister of Dom Pedro and therefore aunt of Erik's wife. Sofus Larsen emphasised the relationship between the Danish and Portuguese royal families in his thesis of a joint Danish-Portuguese expedition. The dynastic ties have been dismissed as irrelevant at the time of the expeditions of Christian I by Kirsten Seaver and thus of little if any importance for the argument in favour of joint expeditions.¹³⁶ This is probably correct especially since Erik of Pomerania left Denmark in 1436 and was deposed in 1439. But whereas the

¹³² Storm 1889, pp. 135–36 translated into Danish by Bjørnbo 1912, p. 143 [my emphasis].

¹³³ Cf. Rogers 1961.

¹³⁴ Rogers 1961, pp. 34, 43–44, 85–86, 324–25, 340–41.

¹³⁵ Erslev 1901, pp. 78–79, 100–01; Aschbach 1838–45, 3:184–87.

¹³⁶ Seaver 1996, p. 256.

dynastic tie might have become irrelevant, the information that could have been exchanged most certainly was not. In this respect, Isabella of Portugal could still provide a link between Denmark and Portugal and transmit information concerning how to reach India by sailing towards the North.

In 1428, she was married to Philip the Good of Burgundy. As Werner Schulz has shown, the marriage was probably arranged to see Philip's lifelong dream of leading a crusade against the Turks come true. Isabella also took a serious interest in the crusade and even personally sponsored Portuguese expeditions aimed at finding a way to the realm of Prester John.¹³⁷ She might in fact have had access to Clavus' map. As seen, it was copied in Rome in 1427 by Cardinal William Fillastre the Elder.¹³⁸ He died in Rome the year after, but accompanying Fillastre to Rome was his nephew William Fillastre the Younger, who played a central role in the crusade plans of Philip the Good of Burgundy from 1436 to his death in 1473.¹³⁹ It is unthinkable that the younger Fillastre should have been unaware of his uncle's cartographic studies and the conclusions he came to. Isabella's interest in both crusading and India makes it almost certain that she would have had access to this information and transmitted the knowledge to her nephew Alfonso V of Portugal and her brother Henry the Navigator. The Genoese world map of 1457 incorporating the new discoveries indicates that north of Norway was a promontory that probably is the Greenland known to the fifteenth and sixteenth century cartographers.¹⁴⁰ [cf. fig. 7] This is made perfectly clear on the map compiled in 1489 by Heinrich Martellus, who utilized Clavus' younger map. Martellus' map might in fact have helped to persuade Colombus that his discoveries in the west were in fact Asiatic peninsulas.¹⁴¹ [cf. fig. 8]

The conclusions reached by Clavus on the basis of his description of the north fit perfectly with these maps. From these sources it is apparent that by circumnavigating Greenland, India could be reached. All the maps and globes of the late fifteenth century point in the same direction, whether they present Greenland as a promontory or as an Island

¹³⁷ Schulz 1976; Willard 1992.

¹³⁸ Darricau 1971, cols. 1340–41. He was born around 1348 in Durtal (Maine-et-Loire) and died in Rome 6 November 1428.

¹³⁹ de Morembert 1971, cols. 1341–43; Häyrynen 1994, pp. 3–6.

¹⁴⁰ Reproduced in Rogers 1959 facing p. 26. See here fig. 7.

¹⁴¹ Fernández-Armesto 2000 with the map as fig. 5 between pp. 50–51.

off the coast of the continent north of Norway.¹⁴² This notion, although seen from a different perspective, is also apparent in the imaginary travel book of Dom Pedro. It relates that after he reached the parts around Jerusalem they were lost in the desert. They met a holy man who told them that the lands “on the left-hand side... was the land of Tabetebolale and of Norway”.¹⁴³ This story was constructed on the basis of other travel accounts but sums up the information available from written sources. Travelling east towards India over land, Norway was on your left hand side and other lands, “which had no more than three hours by day and twenty-one by night”. Compared to the cartographic sources it fits well with the notion that India could be reached by sailing north of these lands. Or if transferred to the believed globe-shape of the earth, you would sail first towards the north, then west and south, ending up in the east. It is thus possible that people in Denmark and Portugal might simultaneously have reached the same conclusion that it was possible to reach India by sailing to the lands beyond Greenland without being in direct contact. The Portuguese certainly seem to have made the effort. João Vaz Corte-Real did probably go on an expedition towards the North Atlantic in the late fifteenth century—even if it might not have been together with Didrik Pinning—and so did Christopher Columbus in the 1470s, according to his son.¹⁴⁴ It is likely that Columbus did in fact reach Iceland. The notion of a westward passage to India was known to Henry VII of England at least from the 1490s, which resulted in the expeditions of John Cabot and his son.¹⁴⁵ Kirsten Seaver even thinks that the English and Portuguese had some cooperation in the exploitation of the new lands and fishing banks of the North American coast.¹⁴⁶ Why these ideas should not have been known and such initiatives taken in Denmark with former Danish lands half way there that had been inhabited within living memory and actively protected politically is hard to see. Especially since several sources say that they did take place.

¹⁴² Bjørnbo 1912, p. 153 ff. Cf. also *Anecdota Cartographica Septentrionalia*, facs. IV and pp. 6–7 discussed in Bjørnbo 1912, pp. 209–11 esp. concerning dating.

¹⁴³ Rogers 1961, pp. 126–27, 162–63. No fifteenth century edition in either Spanish or Portuguese has ever been found. The first Spanish edition is from 1520—the first in Portuguese is from 1602. Earlier editions in Portuguese are referred to but no proof of their existence has been found, Rogers 1959, pp. 18, 70–74.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Seaver 1996, pp. 208–9, 259–71.

¹⁴⁵ Pope 2001; Williamson 1962; Seaver 1996, pp. 192–224, 254–311.

¹⁴⁶ Seaver 2004, pp. 80–85. Cf. Seaver 1996; Seaver 2001.

The Bohemian noble Michel Beheim mentioned both “wilden Lap-pen” and “Schrellinge” in his poem describing his journey by sea to Norway.¹⁴⁷ Although he perhaps did not derive his knowledge from Clavus’ work directly,¹⁴⁸ the Skrälings were part of the general world view. It is therefore more than likely that Christian I dispatched one and possibly more expeditions towards Greenland with the purpose of reaching India. Christian might even have been encouraged to do this by the “adventurer” Ludovicus of Bologna—the “patriarch of Jerusalem”—who had been on a mission to Ethiopia and was used as legate to the Orient by both Calixtus III and Pius II, as he was in Denmark several times during the 1460s.¹⁴⁹ It is likely that the expeditions took place after 1473, as argued by Larsen, when Christian I finally established peace with England, making expeditions in the North Atlantic at least on paper more realistic. It shows that although a dynastic tie no longer existed between Denmark and Portugal, information that proved that India could be found by sailing towards the north was present in both Denmark, Portugal and in Burgundy among people actively trying to find a way to the realm of Prester John. Would it then be totally unthinkable that Alfonso V would have addressed Christian I concerning this matter? That Danes and Portuguese cooperated cannot be proved beyond the point that one of the sources explicitly says so—and that Danes did participate in Portuguese crusades in Africa, and that the Portuguese had some cooperation with the other major power in the area: England. Possibly the northern expeditions were great failures just like the many other un-recorded northern voyages that took place “to continue and complete the discoveries initiated by Christopher Columbus... But as most of those who made discoveries were ruined thereby, there is no recollection left by any of them so far as we know, particularly those who steered northward, coasting the Bacallaos region and Labrador”, according to López de Gómora, writing in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁵⁰ That might just be the reason why so little evidence has been left of the Danish expeditions, but there were plenty of reasons to make the effort. It is not clear whether the sources speak of one or more expeditions but they should be taken as

¹⁴⁷ *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim*, 2:659–73 (no. 327), at p. 666; Vangensten 1908, pp. 17–18, 30–33.

¹⁴⁸ Bjørnbo & Petersen 1909 against Vangenstein 1908. Cf. for a discussion of his journey as genre, Classen 1991, pp. 347–424, esp. pp. 384–99.

¹⁴⁹ Lindbæk 1907, pp. 58–59 and cf. above p. 48 n. 327.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted from Seaver 2004, p. 85.

evidence that Denmark was also involved in the Atlantic crusade and in the efforts to reach India, with the possibility that it was undertaken in cooperation with the Portuguese. Under any circumstances, there is absolutely no reason to assume that they were conceived as being different in character from the Portuguese crusades to Africa. Why should a crusading king like Christian I, praised as such by Italian poets, and presented with the Golden Rose by the pope as defender of Christendom in 1474, view things differently from Alfonso V? The claim that Greenland had been lost to the heathens, providing legal arguments in favour of a crusade, provides further arguments in that direction. And there is certain evidence that Christian I's grand-son Christian II did not view things differently in the early sixteenth century.

In 1514, Christian II applied for indulgences, which were granted by the pope in June that year, for the participants in an expedition that was to go to "the islands on the other side of the Arctic Ocean".¹⁵¹ There can be no doubt that he meant India, as can be seen from an OT-map drawn in 1521 by Christian's court-historiographer Christiern Pedersen. Several later copies of it exist. One of the oldest is a copy from around 1550. South of India is indicated "the Indian Ocean and islands" [see fig. 9].¹⁵² The new world was still being described as islands in the published works of Columbus in 1494, and Grypp wrote of the new world as islands in 1551.

The 1514 expedition apparently came to nothing, but new plans were being worked out. In 1519, Pope Leo X issued a bull making Vincentz Pedersen bishop of Garðar—the old bishopric on Greenland—because Christian II wanted to "re-conquer the city of Garðar from the hands of the heathens with a mighty fleet".¹⁵³ The papal bull puts it beyond question that this expedition was a crusade. Although the goal of this crusade explicitly was Greenland, it is very likely that it was directed to Greenland because Greenland was considered a stepping-stone towards India. The Ruysch world map of 1508 that summed up the latest geographical knowledge depicted Greenland as a peninsula on the continent of Asia, making it a perfect bridgehead for further expansion into India [see fig. 10].¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ DN, 17:1259–60 (no. 1260); APD, 6:76–78 (no. 4457).

¹⁵² Cf. the OT-map inserted in the manuscript KB: Thott 797 2°, fol. 277 [here fig. 9]. The map is described and depicted in Bjørnbo 1909, pp. 191–93.

¹⁵³ DN, 17:1164–66 (no. 1184). Cf. Gad 1967, pp. 224–28.

¹⁵⁴ Nordenskiöld 1889, pl. 32; Svensson 1960, pp. 179–81. Cf. *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, 1:11 and pl. 4.

That the expeditions of Christian I were not followed up during the reign of King Hans is probably due to the corsair war with England between 1484 and 1490 and subsequent wars with Sweden and Lübeck, which as described in chapter one prevented him from taking part in the crusade against the Turks. But the initial preparations might actually have been made in the first decade of the sixteenth century. From 1506, when he became vice-king in Norway, Christian II had been close to the archbishop of Trondheim, Erik Walkendorff, who gathered information about Greenland in order to reclaim it for his archiepiscopal seat.¹⁵⁵ In 1512, King Hans argued that he wanted Erik Walkendorff as archbishop of Trondheim because an intelligent (“forstandig”) man was needed on the border to the Russians.¹⁵⁶ Among the notes Walkendorff left behind are instructions that when the Christians reached Greenland, they should erect huge stone crosses and cut crosses in the trees as they progressed.¹⁵⁷ It is possible that the additional information in Ívar Bárðarson’s description of Greenland concerning his mission to expel the Skrælings from the Western Settlement should be ascribed to Walkendorff. The description is preserved in a form dating from the early sixteenth century that probably was made during his investigations.¹⁵⁸ In 1520, Walkendorff wrote Pope Leo X and explained that “a people of timid and short stature, namely 1,5 ‘alen’ [about three feet], usually called Skælings, lives towards the northeast of *Findmarkia*”.¹⁵⁹ The German cartographer, Jacob Ziegler, who met Walkendorff in Rome in 1521, wrote in his book on the maps of the Holy Land published in 1536 on the basis of information provided by Walkendorff and other Nordic prelates, that the faith of the Lapps and the Skrælings was so alike that it indicated a continental connection [see fig. 11].¹⁶⁰

Walkendorff clearly shared this belief, as he hoped to find animals with precious furs like sable and marten on Greenland. These animals had never lived on Greenland, but were found in northern Norway and Russia. On top of that, Ziegler wrote that the Pygmies came down from the North Pole on plundering raids. Ziegler also told of their small skin boats, by which they used to attack large ships, as can be

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Hamre 1943, esp. pp. 47–53.

¹⁵⁶ Arild Huitfeldt, *Kong Hans’ Historie*, in DRK, 5:288.

¹⁵⁷ GHM, 3:482–97.

¹⁵⁸ Ívar Bárðarson, p. 9.

¹⁵⁹ Karlsson & Storm 1900–01, pp. 12–13, 20–21. Cf. Bjørnbo 1912, pp. 286–87.

¹⁶⁰ Jacob Ziegler, *Terræ Sanctæ*, fols. 85–86, 92–93 and on the Lapps fols. 94–96.

seen on the famous *Carta Marina* by Olaus Magnus from 1539 [see fig. 12].¹⁶¹

The leader of the Danish crusade to Greenland was to be the nobleman and experienced sailor Søren Nordby. In February 1521, he wrote to the king that he was willing to equip his ships and set sail for Greenland, but due to repairs that had to be carried out and the lack of suitable timber for new masts, he would not be able to leave before shortly after Easter that year.¹⁶² On 21 September 1521, the king's chancellor Klaus Pedersen wrote to the king from Rome that such an undertaking would bring not only honour, praise and glory, but also large and eternal profit. But Christian should lose no time. Klaus Pedersen reminded the king that the Spaniards were moving closer and closer to Greenland—a rumour also reported by Jacob Ziegler.¹⁶³ The crusade came to nothing because of the rebellion in Sweden in the aftermath of the so-called blood-bath in Stockholm in 1520, but the plans were real! At the same time as Danish kings were involved in these North Atlantic crusades of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the legend of a Danish hero who had been crusading in India was being created and connected to the royal ideology. It provides further evidence that India was indeed the ultimate goal of these crusades.

Danish Crusades in India

Since the twelfth century it was hoped that Christianity would get in touch with the mythic realm of Prester John, who would lead his mighty army into the field and help restore Jerusalem to Christendom. Prester John had promised that he would do just that in the letter sent to the west originally in the twelfth century, but which was being translated into both Danish and Swedish as well as printed in Scandinavia in

¹⁶¹ Reproduced for instance by Lynam 1949, pp. 19–22. Cf. Richter 1967, esp. pp. 131–38. The small skin boats were also encountered in Vinland according to *Gronlendinga saga*, cf. above p. 166. If the Norse encountered Indians perhaps the “skin boats” were in fact originally birchbark canoes, which will not impinge on the present argument, McGhee 1984, p. 10.

¹⁶² DG, p. 4 (no. 2).

¹⁶³ DG, pp. 4–5 (no. 3); Ziegler, *Terre Sanctæ*, fols. 92'–93. There can be little doubt that the “eternal profit” Klaus Pedersen promises the king is financial profit and not spiritual merit.

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁶⁴ In Denmark, there has been a tradition for considering the stories of this mythical realm as “munkefabler” (literally: fables of monks)—as fiction and entertainment without further historical value.¹⁶⁵ This picture is misleading. To contemporaries, they were authoritative texts and sources of geographical knowledge. In the fifteenth century, legates from Prester John turned up in Europe,¹⁶⁶ and as Heribert Müller says: “Die Legende sollte als politische Realität in den Krieg gegen die Ungläubigen eingebunden werden”.¹⁶⁷ This was also the case in Denmark.

Stories of Prester John and Christians in India beyond the Islamic world would have been well-known in Scandinavia, not least because of the legends of the Three Magi whose relics were brought to Cologne from Milan in the twelfth century and often visited by people from Scandinavia. From the late fourteenth century, their story was closely connected to the realm of Prester John.¹⁶⁸ Another example is the letter printed for the first time in 1616 by the Swedish historian Johannes Messenius, written by the “Sultan of Babylon” to Christopher of Bavaria in 1444 offering his daughter Xerxine in marriage. It shows great literary knowledge of the stories concerning Alexander the Great, Prester John, and *Mandeville's Travels*.¹⁶⁹ In this respect it is however the story of Prester John as told in *Mandeville's Travels*—that also influenced Clavus' perception of the north—that is of interest. The fifteenth century Latin version of *Mandeville's Travels* that was translated into Danish by the Franciscans in the 1440s explained how this kingdom of Prester John came into existence.¹⁷⁰ Originally, the story had been written in French, perhaps around 1360. From this original stem two manuscript traditions: with and without references to the Danish hero, Ogier the Dane. Ogier was put into the story in the 1390's by the French author Jean d'Outremeuse, who described him as a “ly Jhesus champion”. From his works it became part of the first German translation by von

¹⁶⁴ They are all edited in *Jon Prest. Presbyter Johannes' brev til Emanuël Komnenos*. For the Latin edition, see *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. the introduction to the eighteenth-century edition of Ghemen's print: *Historie om Jon Prest*, p. 172; Fjeldstrup 1910.

¹⁶⁶ Svensson 1960, p. 69 ff.; Rogers 1961, pp. 51–52, 56, 105 ff.

¹⁶⁷ Müller 1993, p. 40.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Rogers 1961, pp. 38–40.

¹⁶⁹ Olesen 1980, pp. 324–28. Olesen interprets the letter as a Swedish propaganda piece against Christopher produced in Vadstena in the 1440s on the general background of the anti-Turkish crusade.

¹⁷⁰ *Mandeville's Travels; Mandevilles Rejse*.

Diemeringen, published for the first time in 1481.¹⁷¹ In this version, his role as *miles Christi* is also stressed: “He called himself God’s soldier, for he fought not for countries or power, but only that he convert people to Christianity”.¹⁷² His adventures were known in the North through the *Karlamagnús saga* (*Saga of Charlemagne*) and especially the popular folk-song relating his battles with the troll, Burman, who could be depicted on murals as wearing a turban in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁷³ The *Saga of Charlemagne* was copied in the Danish monastery of Børglum in 1480. It was published in Danish by Gotfred of Ghemen in 1501, and according to Christiørn Pedersen, again in 1508 and 1509.¹⁷⁴ All through the fifteenth century the renaissance humanists used the legend of Charlemagne having conquered the Holy Land early in the ninth century as propaganda for new crusades.¹⁷⁵ It would only be natural to single out the Danish proto-crusade hero in a Danish context to underline the glorious crusading past that equalled that of the other great European kingdoms and to inspire to new crusade efforts.

The role of Ogier the Dane became much more prominent in the Latin version of *Mandeville’s Travels* and subsequently in the Danish translation. The latter related that after Ogier the Dane’s mysterious disappearance from the court of Charlemagne around the year 800, he conquered all countries from Jerusalem to Paradise in the company of “other fifteen nobles of his kin and with 20.000 men” and converted them to the Christian faith with the aid of God.¹⁷⁶ Ogier the Dane then split his conquests among the fifteen nobles and gave them a kingdom each to rule in order for Christianity to be spread in that part of the world. He made a Frisian noble in his entourage—who was jocularly called Prester John by his comrades because he often went to church—king of India with 4.000 islands and kingdoms under him and made him emperor over his other friends. All the descendants of Prester John were called by that name. The realm of Prester John had thus been founded by a Dane.

¹⁷¹ Bidsted 1989; *Mandeville’s Travels*, 1:xli–xlvi. Von Diemeringen’s passages concerning Ogier are printed *ibid.*, 2:483–94.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 486.

¹⁷³ Bidsted 1989. It is known from a manuscript dated 1585 and printed by Anders Sørensen Vedel in 1595.

¹⁷⁴ Brandt 1882, pp. 266–67.

¹⁷⁵ Black 1985, pp. 320–22; Bisaha 2004, pp. 30–42.

¹⁷⁶ *Mandevilles Rejse*, p. 162: “andræ femten herræ aff sith slektæ ok met tyuæ tusindæ wæpnæræ”.

But the kingdom was split into minor parts through marriages and among several sons with the result that many of the realms and islands fell from the Christian faith and back to the heathen customs of their ancestors.¹⁷⁷ The life and adventures of Ogier the Dane from his birth and until he had conquered all the countries from Jerusalem to Paradise was described in paintings on the walls of the finest hall in a palace in the kingdom of Jana, it is said in *Mandeville's Travels*.¹⁷⁸ Some “unreasonable people” believed that Ogier was still alive somewhere in the world, the author wrote: “But I find it more plausible that he lives with God in heaven because he worked so hard for the holy faith and the extension of Christendom”.¹⁷⁹ The oldest Danish manuscript is dated 1444 during the reign of Christopher of Bavaria, and it would be obvious to see some connection between the interest in the story in Scandinavia and the participation of Danes—like Vallarte and Abelhardt—in the Portuguese crusades aiming at getting into contact with Christian princes beyond Islam, as argued by Sven Svensson.¹⁸⁰ Naturally, the preface to the Danish version also expressed the hope that the story would inspire readers to go on crusade to liberate Jerusalem—and apparently it did?

In the letter sent to the west Prester John had promised that he would do just that.¹⁸¹ It is of course a literary product, but its importance goes much farther than this. It was a source of knowledge and information of Prester John and his realm. There was much interest in the letter in Scandinavia. It was translated into Swedish in the fifteenth century and into Danish twice. One of the Danish translations was printed by Gotfred of Ghemen in Copenhagen in 1510 and belongs to the same tradition as the Swedish. The other can be dated towards the end of the fifteenth century or a little later on palaeographical grounds.¹⁸² In the printed Danish version, Prester John wrote that “he intended to seek the Holy Sepulchre with great honour and fight against the enemies of God”.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 162–63.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 98–99.

¹⁷⁹ *Mandevilles Rejse*, p. 191: “Jek tror bætær, at han lefuer met gudh udi hemmærigæ, effter thy at han arbeydede sa megit for then helly troo oc cristendoms merelssæ skill”.

¹⁸⁰ Svensson 1960, p. 84. The Latin Vulgate version was likely copied in Denmark in 1434, cf. Bradley 1969.

¹⁸¹ *Jon Præst. Presbyter Johannes' brev til Emanuell Komnenos*, pp. 13a–13b.

¹⁸² Ibid., pp. 5–11.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 13b: “haffue acht at søghe then heligraff mz meghel ære oc stride emodh gutz vwenner”. Not in the un-printed version, *ibid.*, p. 13a. The phrase “gutz vwenner” meaning the “enemies of God” is often used in connection with crusades.

When he went to war, he carried before his army 30 jewelled crosses of gold. Below each cross, 20.000 knights and 20.000 men-at-arms marched, not counting the baggage train. When the army returned, it instead carried a wooden cross before it as a reminder of the sufferings of Christ and the torment he suffered for our sins, and a golden vessel filled with dirt to remind people that we are made of dust.¹⁸⁴ The Danish expeditions would have been aimed at India both to find Prester John on behalf of the crusade and to get a share of the rich trade. In any future negotiations concerning the latter, it would have been important that his realm had originally been founded by a Dane.

From the time of Christian II's crusade plans also dates a short, strange, but highly interesting historical work most likely written by Christian's court-historiographer, Christiern Pedersen, that brings the plans and these legends closely together. The work is dated 1521 and tells of the many peoples and princes that in days past left Denmark and won great dominion in the world.¹⁸⁵ The three greatest Danish heroes were the Emperor Aurelian, who was born in the Danish city of Ribe, Ogier the Dane, and Prester John. The sources for Emperor Aurelian's Danish origins are not straightforward but are likely to originate in the fact that Aurelian in 271 AD created a new province called *Dacia Ripensis*—Denmark and Ribe respectively in Latin—after having inflicted some serious defeats on the invading Goths.¹⁸⁶ The claim also has a strong anti-Swedish connotation, as the Swedes claimed Gothic descent. Danes as Roman emperors had defeated the Swedes not only in classical times, but they had also fought in the crusades. The deeds of Ogier the Dane as a champion of the Christian faith are strongly underlined: "He fought the heathens continuously...and shed his blood for the sake of God".¹⁸⁷ But more importantly, Prester John in this version changed nationality from a Frisian into a Dane.¹⁸⁸ As the work is anonymous it is not absolutely certain that Christiern Pedersen actually wrote the text, but whether he was the author or not it is an expression of the predominant ideology at the court of Christian II.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., s. 17a–17b.

¹⁸⁵ *En wdschrift aff gamble krönnicker*. Cf. Brandt 1882. In the manuscript KB: Thott 797 2° the text is followed by the OT-map mentioned above (p. 195 n. 152) [fig. 9] as well as the confession of faith that Danes "had always used when they went abroad to conquer". It was, of course, the Pater Noster!

¹⁸⁶ Cf. on Aurelian and *Dacia Ripensis*, Watson 1999, pp. 42–46, 54–56, 155–57.

¹⁸⁷ *En wdschrift aff gamble krönnicker*, pp. 336, 350–53: "[Han] idelige bestride hedninge...och wdgaff sit blod for Guds skyld".

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 352–53.

It was also cited by Petrus Olai in his *Chronica Regum Danorum*. He wrote that: “These three excellent princes of the world are bound together by their Danish descent: the Roman Emperor Aurelian, the most Christian Prince and conqueror of India Ogier the Dane, and Prester John, or Sir Jon Præst [in Danish], king of India”.¹⁸⁹

He also related how Ogier the Dane had conquered all the lands from “around Jerusalem, which is the navel of the world, all the way to India”, converted them to the Christian faith, and made them tributary. “This is testified by John of Mandeville, who personally visited those parts from Jerusalem to Greater India near Paradise”.¹⁹⁰ Mandeville was considered an historical authority. It is another example of how Christian II presented his lineage as deriving from the great Christian hero who conquered all of India and converted it to the Christian faith. This construction was part of an ideological program that was intended to present Christian II as a crusading king and champion of the faith. It sheds new light not only on his commitment to the crusade against the Turks but also on his plans for his arctic expeditions, which set out to conquer the lands that his ancestor Ogier the Dane had founded during his great crusade in India in the early ninth century.

The efforts to find the way to India via Greenland continued in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By then it had become apparent that the lands beyond Greenland were in fact a new continent. Karsten Grypp told Christian III in 1551 that his lands stretched towards the New World and he had to claim his interest in that area before it was too late.¹⁹¹ In 1567, Absalon Pedersen wrote in Bergen of Greenland and its huge forests and the sables, deer, and martens to be found there. According to contemporary “cosmographers”, Greenland was connected to the fourth part of the world: “America...which is the newly found land”. He believed it to be possible that “either Russians or other lords” now ruled on Greenland.¹⁹² Frederik II planned an

¹⁸⁹ Petrus Olai, *Chronica Regum Danorum*, p. 75: “Qyibus tres excellentes mundi principes Danici seminis subnectuntur: Aurelianus Imperator Romanorum, Vdgerus Dux christianissimus expugnator Indie, Johannes presbiter, sive Her Johan Prest, Indorum monarcha”. He then added the verse:

Par Alexandro magno Julioqve refertur/Indos convertit rexqve monarcha/Danica sceptrum tulit hic ad fines orientis.

¹⁹⁰ Petrus Olai, *Chronica Regum Danorum*, p. 72.

¹⁹¹ DG, pp. 5–6 (no. 4).

¹⁹² Absalon Pedersen, *Norges Beskrivelse*, p. 69. Cf. Ingstad 1960, pp. 370–71.

expedition that was abandoned in 1568, and again in 1579. Christian IV planned expeditions in the 1590s, 1605, 1607, and 1612 to discover the North West passage, but as known they did not succeed.¹⁹³ It took place in competition with among other nations England, and the Old Norse colonies were in fact used to claim Danish rights to the lands in an atmosphere where national and financial interest went hand in hand with thoughts of converting the infidels and the spread of Christianity.¹⁹⁴ In 1721, the Danish parish priest Hans Egede went to Greenland when he became convinced after having read the sagas that Scandinavians still lived on Greenland, who had never heard the Gospel preached properly. He therefore went to seek them out as a missionary, and instead he became the “apostle of the Inuits”. The editors of *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmærker* wrote in 1839 “there you can see how the best of things can derive from the greatest mistakes” as it led to the re-discovery of Greenland, which resulted in true benefits for the Danish state: “The extension of the faith and trade”.¹⁹⁵ It is in this context interesting to note the order of things. That is, however, another story.

Conclusions: The Forgotten Crusades

With the conversion of the Scandinavian settlers on Greenland, the colonies became the westernmost frontier of Christendom towards the heathens. In the fifteenth century it was claimed that Greenland had been lost to the heathens, which should be seen in a broader perspective of the northern frontier of Christendom. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, Danish kings made efforts to protect their rights to Greenland that at least from the time of Christopher of Bavaria were connected to finding a way to India and getting in touch with the realm of Prester John. It was argued that Greenland had been lost to the heathens, which should probably be understood in the context of preparing expeditions for its recovery. It is unclear whether the settlements were still inhabited at that time but there no longer existed official connections, which would be the reason for sending out expeditions. Extremely little is known of these northern expeditions, but there is

¹⁹³ *Aktstykker til Oplysning om Grønlands Besejling*, pp. 311–24; DG, pp. 6–19 (no. 5–23); Gad, s. 228–313.

¹⁹⁴ Baldwin 2001; Pope 2001, pp. 56–60.

¹⁹⁵ GHM, 1:viii–ix.

no reason to assume that they were conceived as being different in character from the Portuguese crusades to Africa. By then the aim of the expeditions clearly became connected to the efforts to find a way to India and the mythical realm of Prester John, which were closely connected to the history of the crusades and the hopes that Prester John would lead a great army into the field against the infidels and help restore Jerusalem to Christian hands. In the stories concerning this realm in the fifteenth century Denmark had a special role because it had been founded by Ogier the Dane when he conquered all the lands east of Jerusalem to Paradise and converted them to the Christian faith. This is most clearly expressed during the reign of Christian II at the time of his plans for a crusade to Greenland, when the legends concerning Ogier the Dane and Prester John were combined to form a background for his royal power and policy. There is no reason to assume that it was considered differently in the fifteenth century, when crusading ideology and crusade plans were extremely important political tools in the hands of Danish kings. The desire to win honour and “eternal profit” is in no way incompatible with mission and crusade. As Jennifer Goodman wrote of late medieval and early modern exploration, “they are in it to advance Christianity, but they are also in it for the money and the land”.¹⁹⁶ A papal bull of 1481 acknowledged that the Portuguese expansion into Africa was undertaken “to secure the gold routes as well as to bring about conversions without seeing any discrepancy between the two goals”, as Norman Housley writes.¹⁹⁷ These plans of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, however fantastic they may sound to modern ears, were based on the most modern geographical knowledge and authoritative history. The northern frontier was described as bordering towards lands inhabited by peoples known to be living near India and figures prominently in stories concerning Prester John. If Greenland could be reclaimed, it would function as a perfect bridgehead for further expansion and it is in this respect that fifteenth century claims that Greenland had been lost to the heathens must be understood. Not only did Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians take an interest in and support the crusade *from* the end of the world, they fought the crusades *at* the end of the world and even beyond. As the Icelandic scholar Arngrímur Jónsson wrote in his treatise on Greenland

¹⁹⁶ Goodman 1998, p. 158.

¹⁹⁷ Housley 1992, p. 312.

published in 1600: "If this opinion deviates from the truth, I will at any time be ready to listen to him who says something more truly and give him my consent".¹⁹⁸

In my view, the story of the forgotten crusades to Greenland is in fact testimony of the vitality of the crusade and its ideology in Denmark on the eve of the Reformation. There can be no doubt that Søren Nordby would have led a Danish crusade fleet towards Greenland in 1521, had events in Sweden leading to his disposal in 1522 and exile in 1523 not prevented it. Christian II had been active on most of the crusading fronts until his deposition in 1522. He took great pride in the crusading history of Denmark and used it to promote his own royal ideology and political agendas. That did not come to an end just because he had to flee his kingdom and go into exile. Indeed, even becoming an open follower of Luther in 1523 does not seem to have diminished these efforts. The question of crusade and crusade ideology in relation to the Protestant confession will be the subject of the second half of this book.

¹⁹⁸ Arngrímur Jónsson, *Grønlandia*, pp. 18–19.

PART TWO

CRUSADES AFTER THE REFORMATION



CHAPTER THREE

CRUSADE AND REFORMATION

During his reign, Christian II worked to create a national church that was to be under his control and supervision although still a Catholic Church. Christian was drawn towards the new religious ideas of reform that began to flourish in the first decades of the sixteenth century—especially those of Martin Luther. He had representatives at the *Reichstag* in Worms in 1521, where Luther had to defend his beliefs. The papal legate Aleander reported in his reports to the pope that it was rumoured in the city that Christian had sent these envoys to get Luther to come to Denmark. Many Catholics who wanted to reform the existing church were very inspired by Luther as well and initially Luther did not consider a break with Rome. One Danish example is the Carmelite friar Paulus Helie (c. 1485–1534/39), who even translated some of Luther's works into Danish. He distanced himself from the more extreme ideas of Luther but praised his stress on the need for reforms. Later, when the extent to which Luther broke away from the church became clear, Helie began wholeheartedly to fight the Protestants as the heretics he believed them to be. From this perspective, Christian's interest in the ideas of Luther is not very surprising. Shortly after his escape from Denmark, his wish to meet Luther personally was fulfilled and he heard Luther preach. Never had he heard the Gospels preached like this. Christian became a Lutheran.¹ That, however, did not diminish his efforts to have himself presented as a crusading king and a champion of the faith.

¹ Cf. Lausten 1987c, pp. 9–25; Lausten 1995, pp. 17–29; Lausten 2002, pp. 29–65; Lyby 1993, pp. 44–45. As pointed out by the Danish theologian Thorkild C. Lyby, the concepts of “Lutheran” and “Lutheranism” are problematic especially for the early period in the 1520s. The terms were often used negatively by contemporary conservative Catholics. It is perhaps possible to use on a personal level, meaning an adherent of Luther's teachings, but canonically it is inadequate until 1555 or at least until 1529. Instead, one should perhaps speak of Catholics and their counterparts as Evangelicals on a political level, Lyby 1993, pp. 137–53. The terms Lutheran and Lutheranism will be used more loosely in the following to describe the group of people and princes who were influenced by Luther's teachings.

*Christian II and the Crusade: Part II**Exile, Protestantism, and the Crusade*

Christian II's use of crusade ideology became an important, if by modern historians somewhat neglected, aspect of his efforts to win back his former kingdoms. During the first part of Christian's exile he lived in the Netherlands with his court, taking up residence in Lier. At some point during his stay in the Netherlands, Christian II had produced a painting, which depicted him as a new Constantine. In the background is shown a great battle, which most likely is the battle of Ponte Molle, where a huge cross appeared in the sky and a loud voice declared: "In hoc signo vinces". The scene perhaps referred to the famous battle of Lyndanisse in 1219, when the Danish King Valdemar II the Victorious conquered Estonia on a great crusade, as suggested by Lars Auth Hendrickman.² According to legend, the Danish national flag called Dannebrog fell from the sky, leading the hard-pressed Danish army to victory. The legend, however, was only just being created in the shape that we know it today in the early sixteenth century, although Dannebrog certainly was in use from the fourteenth century. It is depicted in a Bavarian book on coats of arms from the 1380s, and it was carried into war on a number of occasions. The Swedish *Sture Chronicle* relates how the Danes went into battle under Dannebrog as their main banner. Dannebrog is clearly used as a more general symbol of the Danes in the chronicle. It is mentioned in the chronicle as being carried into war in 1439, and another banner carrying that name was lost, when the Swedes managed to capture one of Christian's ships in 1464. And of course it played a prominent part during the battle at Brunkebjerg in 1471.³ But the legend was only being created in the sixteenth century.

The original source for the legend is now lost but is known from two independent copies, made by the historians Christiern Pedersen and the Franciscan Petrus Olai in the early sixteenth century. In his *Danish Chronicle* written in the 1520s, Christiern Pedersen made a reference to the legend in connection with a campaign that Valdemar II was said to have conducted in 1208 in "Estonia, Prussia, Curland, and Finland".

² Hendrikman 2001. I would like to thank Alan V. Murray for drawing my attention to this reference.

³ *Svenska medeltidens rimkrönikar*, 3:79–80. Cf. Hadorph 1674–76, 1:512–13.

He wrote: “some believe and say that the same King Valdemar at the same time should have been given Dannebrog from the sky, which is a white cross in a red square”.⁴ Petrus Olai mentions the legend on two occasions among his many notes that were never published but handed over to another Danish historian, Anders Sørensen Vedel, on Petrus Olai’s deathbed in 1570.⁵ In a small work entitled *Duodecim Excellentie regni Daciæ*, he counts as the ninth wonder the legend of the flag that fell from the sky:

Concerning the banner that fell from the sky. It so happened in Livonia during the reign of Valdemar II in a place called Fellin that when the Christian Danes met the heathen Livonians in battle in the year 1208 (in fact: 1219) and the former called on divine help through devotion while fighting, immediately they deservedly received a banner sealed and imprinted with a white cross that fell from the sky, and they heard a voice in the sky saying that if they carried it raised high into the air they would be victorious in no time against their poor enemies. And so it happened. This banner is usually called Dannebrog.⁶

The legend with the corrected year is also found among one of Petrus Olai’s other compilations.⁷ It is here placed together with five other notices, which all relate to the battle of Lyndanisse, on a separate leaf that was bound together with his main manuscript. There can be no doubt that Christiern Pedersen and Petrus Olai referred to the same source that told of the legend in connection with an otherwise unknown Danish crusade to Livonia in 1208. Petrus Olai re-dated the event to 1219, and historians have followed him since.⁸ Although very likely, it

⁴ Christiern Pedersen, *Den Danske krønike*, pp. 440, 488.

⁵ They are now preserved in manuscript with the title *Collectanea ad historiam Danicam pertinentia*, AM 107 8°.

⁶ SRD, 8:499: “Ex vexillo crucigero celitus dato. Hoc contigit in Livonia, tempore Valdemari Secundi et in loco, qui dicitur Felin, cum Dani fideles a. d. 1208 (recte: 1219) bellarent contra Livones infideles, et jam fere debellati implorarent devote divinum auxilium, statim vexillum e celo lapsum cruce candida consignatum vellerique impressum recipere meruerunt, vocemque in aere audientes, quod eo in aerem altius elevato confestim contritis adversariis plenam victoriam reportarent. Quod et factum est. Illud autem vexillum Danæbrogæ usitato vocabulo nuncupari solet”.

⁷ SRD, 1:182.

⁸ This has been disentangled by Lind 2001b. The Danish librarian and historian Erich Christian Werlauff, who was well aware that the original source told that the crusade took place in 1208, believed that Fellin “beyond doubt” was a misunderstanding for Lena in Vestergötland in Sweden, where a battle took place between the Danes and the Swedes in 1208, Werlauff 1872, p. 5. Cf. also Paludan-Müller 1873; A. D. Jørgensen 1875–77; L. P. Fabricius 1933–35. The use of the legend after the Reformation will be discussed in chapter 4.

cannot be stated with certainty that Christiørn Pedersen shared this belief. It makes Hendrikman's interpretation of the battle-scene on the painting of Christian II as Lyndanisse less obvious. In the present connection that is, however, of minor significance. The crucial point is the interest in the story and how it was used to promote the royal ideology of Christian II. God granted Dannebrog to the Danish kings during a crusade in the Baltic, whether it took place in Livonia in 1208 or Estonia in 1219. Christiørn Pedersen undoubtedly would have made the connection between the Dannebrog legend and Constantine's vision of the cross. The Constantine legend was, of course, a part of the feast of the holy cross, which Christiørn Pedersen knew very well as he had just edited and published the new missal for the Cathedral of Lund in Paris in 1517, where an elaborate version of the legend is found.⁹ Christian II appeared on the title page of Christiørn Pedersen's 1514 edition of Saxo Grammaticus' chronicle with a banner of the cross, which probably is Dannebrog, but in any case underlined his role as a crusading king. Christiørn Pedersen also translated the laudatory poem performed in praise of Christian I in 1474 into Danish. In the translation, Pedersen underlined and slightly elaborated the lines concerning the crusade efforts of Christian I praised by Nuvolini, which must be seen in connection with the efforts to promote Christian II as a crusading king.¹⁰ He makes Nuvolini describe the Danish coat of arms as depicting "the cross of Christ and the three nails".¹¹ It is fascinating to see the harmony between the written propaganda and the figural representations of Christian II.

Christiørn Pedersen openly became a Lutheran during his exile from 1526 to 1532, where he stayed at Christian's court in Lier.¹² He put all his efforts into promoting the cause of Christian II as well as

⁹ *Breviarium Lundense*, fols. 277^{r-v}.

¹⁰ Etting, Signorini & Werdelin 1984, pp. 66–67; Christiørn Pedersen, *Den Danske kronike*, p. 515: "He [Christian I] came here to exalt the holy church and advise and encourage all Christian kings and princes to fight manfully against the enemies of the holy Christian faith, which are Turks and Jews, heathens and heretics".

¹¹ Etting, Signorini & Werdelin 1984, p. 71; Christiørn Pedersen, *Den Danske kronike*, p. 515: "Jesu Christj korss och iij stompede nagle". Nuvolini was in fact describing the collar of the order founded by Christian I. This will be discussed further in chapter 4. Cf. however the imaginary coat of arms of Christ depicting the cross and the three nails on the wall-painting from Helsingør castle surrounded by the coat of arms of Erik of Pomerania and several ecclesiastics and nobles of the realm depicted in Dahlerup 2003, p. 123.

¹² Brandt 1882, p. 182 ff.

the Evangelical cause through his writings, which even put him on the list of the most dangerous persons in Christian's entourage from a Catholic perspective.¹³ Christiern Pedersen also further strengthened the bond between Christian II and Ogier the Dane during this time. The stories concerning Ogier the Dane that probably formed the basis for the version in Mandeville existed in many different forms. They were gathered and translated into Danish by Christiern Pedersen, most likely during his second stay in Paris around 1527 and published as *Holger Danskes Krønike* [*The Chronicle of Ogier the Dane*] in Malmö in 1534.¹⁴ In this version, Christiern Pedersen made Ogier the Dane son of the 88th Danish king, Gøtrik, and his Danish name was Olaf. Christiern Pedersen found testimony of this in the chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus.¹⁵ In this way he turned Christian II into a descendant of Ogier the Dane, thus strengthening the bond between Christian and this proto-crusader. Christiern also made the war against the enemies of the faith up-to-date. Instead of Saracens, the Christians fought the Turks outside Rome: Charlemagne came to Rome as head of an army to fight against the Turks to "prove that they were Christian men", and Ogier the Dane fought for the holy Christian faith against the Turks.¹⁶ The translation should probably be seen as a kind of political propaganda for Christian II, as suggested by Knud Tøgeby.¹⁷ It is interesting to see this work with its focus on crusading ideology used as political propaganda for the Lutheran Christian II. In his capacity as *miles Christi*, Ogier functioned as a post-reformation national saint, and he was depicted on several murals like "the nine worthies" also known from Danish wall-paintings of the early sixteenth century [see fig. 13]. Ogier and the other heroes could be used in political propaganda and as role models for youths both before and after the Reformation.¹⁸

¹³ Brandt 1882, pp. 205–8.

¹⁴ *Christiern Pedersens Danske Skrifter*, 5:532–35; Brandt 1882, pp. 174–75, 269–73.

¹⁵ Christiern Pedersen, *Kong Olger Danskes Krønike*, pp. 133–41, 308–14; Christiern Pedersen, *Kæjser Karl Magnus Krønike*, p. 123. Ogier the Dane is not mentioned by Saxo probably because in the stories that circulated around 1200 he was a vassal of the German emperor, which did not fit well with the purpose of Saxo's chronicle in general and his attitudes towards the Germans in particular. As Kurt Villads Jensen has pointed out some of his characteristics are found in Saxo's description of the hero Stærkodder, K. V. Jensen 2006. Cf. Tøgeby 1969.

¹⁶ Christiern Pedersen, *Kong Olger Danskes Krønike*, pp. 146–47.

¹⁷ Tøgeby 1969, p. 228 ff.

¹⁸ Bidsted 1989, pp. 29–30.

Just prior to the publication of Ogier's chronicle, Christiørn Pedersen had published *Kejser Karl Magnus Krønike* [*The Chronicle of Charlemagne*] also in Malmö in 1534, mainly because the subject appealed to him:

It told of the deeds in war and battle of the great emperor in company with the twelve peers and other Christian giants, knights and good able courtiers and warriors against the Turks and heathens and many more enemies of the holy Christian faith, who wanted to subjugate and destroy Her, and how he deliciously defeated and killed several thousands of these heathens in war and battle by the assistance, comfort and mercy of God.¹⁹

Although he did change some of the most Catholic elements in these stories to fit his new beliefs, he left enough to be criticized by fellow Protestants: For instance, the heroes' veneration of saints and relics. But he harshly rejected such criticism. Even if these heroes had been deceived by false preachers to put faith in saints and call for their help, they considered themselves to be good Christians and proved it by risking their possessions and lives for the sake of religion, he argued.²⁰ Even in this chronicle, Ogier played a central role as a champion of the faith, which places it alongside *The Chronicle of Ogier the Dane* as part of the creation of a national historical discourse and the ideological programme of Christian II.²¹

Christian II's crusade ideology was placed in an even more outspoken Evangelical context in his efforts to win back his former kingdoms almost from the beginning of his exile. In 1524, Christian II had the Bible translated into Danish. The translation of the Bible was a hasty work full of mistakes and was severely criticised by among others Paulus Helie. A foreword to Paul's letters to the Romans directed strong attacks against the Catholics and amounted to a defence of Christian II, who was presented as the protector of the true faith, i.e. Protestantism.²²

¹⁹ Christiørn Pedersen, *Kejser Karl Magnus Krønike*, p. 127. Cf. Brandt 1882, pp. 265–69.

²⁰ Brandt 1882, pp. 273–78. From another perspective, cf. Anders Sørensen Vedel's arguments based on a Melanchtonian perception of history for publishing the chronicle of Adam of Bremen in 1579, despite the fact that it described veneration of saints and relics and other papistic practices, analysed in Skovgaard-Petersen 2004b.

²¹ For instance Christiørn Pedersen, *Kejser Karl Magnus Krønike*, pp. 18–19, 27–31 (fight with Burman), 120–23. Cf. Brandt 1882, p. 265. In this version of Ogier's battle with Burman, he is given a banner by Queen Gloriant depicting how "King Alexander went across India in search of the end of the world, returned to Babylonia and was poisoned", Christiørn Pedersen, *Kejser Karl Magnus Krønike*, p. 28.

²² Lausten 1987c, pp. 18–28; Lausten 1995.

It was probably written by Hans Mikkelsen, one of the leaders of the Evangelicals in the city of Malmö. He argued that Christian was a prince who by the grace of God converted to the Gospel. It strongly admonished the Danish population to convert to the Gospel and hence prepare the way for Christian's return. It was smuggled into Denmark and of course prohibited and condemned as heretical by Frederik I.²³ Christian probably tried to win support among the middle classes in the cities. The citizens in Malmö at least supported Christian, and Hans Mikkelsen wrote of the Babylonian captivity of Christian.²⁴ Paulus Helie, who by then had been convinced of the dangers in Luther's teachings, was not late in turning this into a stark irony in his reply to Hans Mikkelsen, published in 1527. He stressed that it was God who had driven Christian II from his kingdom because of his many sins and un-Christian acts.²⁵ The reply turned into a sharp rejection politically and theologically of Christian II's claims to his kingdoms and the Evangelical cause in general, which was denounced as heretical.²⁶

That Christian became an open follower of Luther did not advance his hopes of winning support for his cause to win back his kingdom from his brother-in-law, Emperor Charles V. In 1525, however, Charles allowed Christian II to mobilize in the Netherlands and take soldiers into his service as long as it did not infringe on Charles' war with France. At the same time, he declared his support for Christian in a manifesto addressed to the German princes and the rebellious subjects in Denmark and Norway. He ordered Frederik I to hand back what he had taken from Christian II. It was an empty gesture and problems mounted, making any thought of action improbable.²⁷ In 1526, Christian again tried to win support for his cause from Charles V through his envoy Melchior de Germania. In his instructions, Melchior was told to announce Christian II's grief at the defeat to the Turks at Mohács in 1526, where king Louis of Hungary was killed. He should then suggest a meeting between all the princes and regents of Christendom and the Archduke Ferdinand to arrange how best to meet the Turks in battle. Christian would very much like to help, Melchior should inform the

²³ Lausten 1987c, pp. 23, 53.

²⁴ Paulus Helie, *Svar til Hans Mikkelsen*, p. 70.

²⁵ Paulus Helie, *Svar til Hans Mikkelsen*, pp. 3–9.

²⁶ Cf. Lausten 1995, pp. 109–37, esp. p. 122 ff.

²⁷ Other plans including the Hanseatic Cities and Henry VIII were in play but proved to be “castles in the air”, Lausten 1995, pp. 308–12.

emperor, and if only he had his former power and strength, he would be able to do even more. This was, however, combined with suggestions to have the Gospel preached all over Germany, and Melchior did not succeed in winning the emperor for Christian II's cause.²⁸

In these years it became increasingly clear that Christian II's Lutheran convictions stood in the way of his efforts to win back his kingdoms, and Christian began to move politically towards a renunciation of his Lutheran beliefs. Exactly when the shift took place is according to the Danish theologian Martin Schwarz Lausten difficult to say precisely, but perhaps it began as early as late 1527, and is at least apparent from 1529.²⁹ In October 1529, he made contact with the Catholic archbishop of Norway, Olaf, who was fighting the Lutherans Vincent Lunge and Duke Christian of Holstein, who had been sent to Norway by Frederik I. Christian II promised the archbishop to defend the holy Christian church in Norway when he by the help of God succeeded in winning back his former kingdoms.³⁰ Christian had also dispatched Cornelius Scepper to the pope to get him to excommunicate Frederik I.³¹ In February in Lier, he signed a statement where he in order to win Charles for his cause renounced his Lutheran beliefs and promised to take part in Charles' and King Ferdinand's crusades against the Turks.³² Later that year he met with the emperor. It is unknown if there was more than one meeting and the actual content of the negotiations is also unrecorded, but they must have centred on the subjects of the February statement. It is likely, as suggested by Martin Schwarz Lausten, that the emperor placed even more emphasis on Christian II's obligation to support the crusade against the Turks as they posed an increasing threat these years. Christian, of course, also renounced his Lutheran beliefs and returned to Catholicism, although the emperor—probably with justification—did not believe this conversion to be sincere.³³

Nevertheless, Christian confessed his sins and the cardinal Laurentius Campegius therefore asked the pope for letters granting him the

²⁸ Lausten 1995, pp. 318–22.

²⁹ Lausten 1995, p. 341 ff.

³⁰ DN, 8:634–37 (no. 614–16); Lausten 1995, p. 345.

³¹ DN, 11:607–8, 611–12 (no. 545, 549).

³² Lausten 1995, pp. 348–49. The promise to assist the emperor against the Turks is also found in a little note written by Christian II personally. The paragraph reads: “at forbinde meg met k.M., konning Fernando oc thesse land mod hvem hans fiende ere eller bliffuer etc. oc synder at giøre hielp oc trøst emod the torker”, Lausten 1995, p. 351.

³³ APD, 6:459–63 (no. 5030–41).

privilege to give the king absolution.³⁴ He wrote that Christian repented his sins and the cardinal urged the pope to be positive both for the emperor's sake and because it would help to re-introduce Catholicism in the Nordic countries. The present rulers were tyrants and heretics. The exiled Archbishop Gustav Trolle, who as head of a group of Swedish Catholic prelates wrote a letter to the emperor describing the Lutheran heresy of Gustav I Vasa of Sweden, supported Christian. It ends on a note of admonition to help Christian restore Christendom in Sweden.³⁵ Christian promised them on 21 September to uphold the Catholic faith in Sweden and in an open letter dated six days later, the prelates declared that they had sworn allegiance to him.³⁶

It can come as no surprise that things were perceived differently in Sweden. Gustav Vasa naturally perceived Christian and Gustav Trolle as tyrants and heretics. They were also presented as standing in the way of Gustav Vasa's support of the crusade against the Turks. In fact, Gustav Vasa wrote to the pope in October 1523 and praised his effort to extirpate heresy, make peace in Christendom, and organize a new crusade, which was made known to him by the papal legate Johannes Magni Gothus. Johannes had assured Gustav Vasa of the Pope's support in all matters relating to his kingdom, and Gustav had therefore equipped a fleet that would bring the legate back safely. But then Gustav Vasa had received the pope's letter reinstalling under threat of excommunication the traitor Gustaf Trolle as archbishop. Gustav, who had just managed to bring peace to his country, considered this a grave offence and admonished the pope to reconsider the matter—there would of course be no support for the crusade until that happened.³⁷ In the letter deposing Christian II as king of Sweden, the Swedish council spelled out his "un-Christian acts": He had two children aged nine hanged by their hair and then decapitated; he had drowned two priests; he had "quartered" several honest men; and many other horrible crimes also against young women. Christian II's acts are then directly compared to the horrible crimes performed by Turks and other

³⁴ APD, 6:459 (nos. 5030–31) dated 25 and 29 May 1530. DN, 17:1184–89 (nos. 1204–5).

³⁵ Lausten 1995, pp. 371–72.

³⁶ *Breve og Aktstykker*, pp. 607–11 (nos. 291–92). Gustav Trolle asked for a meeting with Christian II in Lier in 1526, *ibid.*, p. 409 (no. 200).

³⁷ *Nya Källor*, pp. 737–40 (no. 417). Cf. Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, pp. 350–51 for the similar arguments of Arcimboldus and Sten Sture the Younger against Christian II.

heathens and “nowhere among Christians or heathens can be found a more tyrannical king”.³⁸

Within only fourteen days, Christian II’s conversion had been considered by the Curia and the pope had written to the emperor and congratulated him on converting Christian II.³⁹ The papal secretary Jacob Salviati wrote to Cardinal Campegius and told that the curia had agreed that Christian could enter the mother womb of the church again, because he wanted to denounce his heresy, and the cardinal was given authority to grant absolution to Christian. It was more regrettable that Christian had invited seven bishops to his table only to have them burned alive. For this reason he had to perform a severe penance. Under normal circumstances he would have to come to Rome to ask forgiveness personally, but as that seemed inconvenient at the time, the pope wanted him to go to Rome within the next three years, give donations to hospitals etc.⁴⁰ The pope also informed Campegius personally. In this letter, the conditions were slightly harsher: Christian was to come to Rome within six months and to found a hospital and give it a yearly income of 2,000 ducats if he was successful in winning back his former lands in Sweden. The sincere remorse Christian II showed moved the pope, but he stressed that he was only so lenient for the sake of the emperor.⁴¹ Campegius told Salviati that the emperor did not have much faith in Christian, and he did not think that Christian would be successful in winning back his former lands.⁴² On 29 September 1531, Campegius wrote to Salviati that Christian had hired some troops and had gone to Holland, where they performed various acts of violence.⁴³ A fleet of 25 ships and 7,000 men set sail on 26 October 1531. It landed in Norway with heavy casualties due to bad weather in November. On 11 May 1532, Campegius wrote that the cities of Lübeck and Hamburg had sent 8,000 men to the new king in Denmark or Holstein to help him against Christian II. Christian II was in Norway, Campegius reported, with 2,000 soldiers—the remainder of the original 6,000 he

³⁸ Hadorph 1674–76, 2:467–74, at pp. 471–72.

³⁹ The matter was treated 3 June 1530, APD, 6:460 (no. 5032) and the letter dated same day, *ibid.*, no. 5033. Cf. Lausten 1995, p. 372 ff.

⁴⁰ APD, 6:461 (no. 5035) dated 14 June 1530. DN, 17:1190–92 (no. 1208).

⁴¹ RayAnn, 13:145–46; APD, 6:461–62 (no. 5036) dated 14 June 1530; Reg I, 1:847 (no. 7978).

⁴² DN, 17:1192–96 (no. 1209–10); APD, 6:462–63 (nos. 5037, 5039) dated 26 June 1530 and 29 July 1530.

⁴³ APD, 6:470 (no. 5038) dated 29 September 1531; DN, 17:1201–4 (no. 1220).

set out with. The rest had either drowned or died from disease. All the important fortresses were under the control of the new king and Campegius believed that Christian would die together with the soldiers, who were the sorry residue of those that sacked Rome in 1527.⁴⁴ It was a fitting end, perhaps. Christian II, however, did not die on that occasion. Instead, he went to negotiations with his uncle in Copenhagen under promise of a safe conduct in the summer of 1532.⁴⁵ Frederik I, however, broke his promises and imprisoned Christian II. He was held captive to his death in 1559.

The Last Danish Crusade?

The authors of *Danske Korstog* have argued that Christian II's effort to win Sweden in 1520 was indeed the last Danish crusade. That it did not receive formal approval as such was probably due to a number of reasons like political persecutions in Rome, financial reasons, lack of time, or simply coincidence.⁴⁶ From this perspective, a more likely candidate for the last Danish crusade would be the fleet that set sail in October 1531, also headed by Christian II to fight the tyrannical and heretical usurpers in Denmark and Norway, to reinstall the true faith, and win back Scandinavia for the Catholic Church. Christian II had been active on all the crusading fronts until his deposition in 1522. He took great pride in the crusading history of Denmark and used it to promote his own royal ideology even after he was deposed and became an open follower of Luther. Although he was nominally a Catholic, contemporaries were sceptical of the sincerity of Christian's conversion—with every reason, since Martin Schwarz Lausten has shown that Christian most likely remained a Lutheran—and the pope was perhaps reluctant to call the expedition a crusade for political reasons. In fact, very few European wars against Protestant states or groups were specifically granted crusading status and finance by the pope, with Spain's war against England in 1588 as perhaps the most notable exception.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Christian II strove to present himself as a champion of the faith no matter his confessional affiliations. It is almost an irony of fate when the brothers Holger and Trud Ulfstand in

⁴⁴ APD, 6:472 (no. 5061) dated 11 May 1532; DN, 17:1205–6 (no. 1222).

⁴⁵ Cf. Lyby 1993, pp. 410–22.

⁴⁶ Lind, Jensen, Jensen & Bysted 2004, p. 351.

⁴⁷ Cf. Partner 1998, p. 192. Cf. also Tyerman 1988, pp. 359–62; Repgen 1987.

1531 wrote to their cousin Esge Bilde that they did not believe Christian II's expected attack on his former kingdoms would take place that year as the emperor needed the support of Frederik I for the crusade against the Turks.⁴⁸ It had been agreed at the *Reichstag* in Augsburg 1530 that Frederik I would supply 120 knights and 532 soldiers and Duke Frederik of Holstein 80 knights and 132 soldiers for the war against the Turks.⁴⁹ Eventually, Christian II's attack did come in 1531. Thus the last great pre-Reformation crusading king of Denmark ended up in prison, having fought as a Protestant to reintroduce Catholicism in his former kingdoms against the last nominally Catholic king who prepared the way for introducing the Reformation in Denmark. With the Reformation the crusade indulgence disappeared. The war on the enemies of Christendom was placed in the hand of the king. From that perspective, the wars were no longer crusades. But the concept that soldiers who died in battle would be saved and become martyrs if they fought with the right intentions did not come to an end. Perhaps the strongest advocate of this belief among the Protestant theologians was Martin Luther.

Martin Luther and the War against the Turk

Christian II's personal Lutheran convictions apparently did not come into conflict with the crusade ideology used to promote his royal ideology. This of course raises the question of whether crusade ideology could have survived the Reformation. To answer this question, for Denmark at least, it will be necessary to take closer look at Martin Luther's writings on war, and especially of course his writings on war against the Turks. Luther was not the only reformer to address these issues, but considering his enormous influence, not least in Denmark, it will be natural to take a closer look at his writings. This will then serve as a point of reference when discussing the Danish sources in the next chapter.

Martin Luther strongly objected to the notion of both indulgences and papal leadership in war. He could still argue in favour of war against the Turks, but only as a purely secular war: "If in my turn I were a soldier and saw on the battlefield a priests' banner or cross, even if it

⁴⁸ DN, 9:680–81 (no. 668).

⁴⁹ APD, 7:793 (no. 6470).

were the very crucifix, I should want to run away as though the Devil were chasing me!”⁵⁰ It appears as if Luther took a radical break away from the notion of crusade. As Kenneth Setton has argued:

To Luther the so-called holy war (*bellum sanctum*) was morally offensive, the term itself an oxymoron. As time passed he came to feel that Turkish attacks were to be fought against like floods, forest fires, plagues, and famines (also sent by God to try His people). But there was to be no Crusade, no ecclesiastical leadership in war. There were many in Germany who had come to feel like Luther, that the Christian defence against the Turk was the proper function of the state and not the Church, of the princes and not the popes. They would have nothing to do with the *Kreuzzug*, but would support the *Türkenkrieg*, which was a quite different thing.⁵¹

Mark U. Edwards also argues that Luther “broke decisively with the medieval past by condemning any religious crusade”.⁵² The war against the Turk was to be defensive and purely a secular matter, but within these limitations it was not only justified but a God-given duty of both rulers and subjects. During his life, Luther came to look upon it in more and more apocalyptic terms.⁵³ Others have stressed the development in Luther’s views. Christopher Tyerman believes that Luther initially argued for non-resistance against the Turks as he considered them the instrument of God’s chastisements, but from 1541 conceded the need for a defensive, secular campaign to defend Germany and Christianity.⁵⁴ But the stress on Luther’s radical break with the past is perhaps in need of revision. As Martin Brecht has argued, Luther was really not excluding the possibility of a war against the Turk in his initial utterances, but his real purpose was the abuses of the papacy: “Für Luther stand der Feind also anderswo als in der Türkei!”⁵⁵ Rudolf Mau also emphasized that although Luther did not actively write a treatise in favour of war against the Turks at an early date, he nevertheless underlined in his writings that the secular arm could resist the attacks of the Turks in the same way as the attacks of any other aggressor. Therefore, Luther thought he had really said enough about the topic.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege wider die Türken*, p. 115.

⁵¹ Setton 1962, p. 141.

⁵² Edwards 1983, p. 112.

⁵³ Edwards 1983, pp. 97–114.

⁵⁴ Tyerman 1998, p. 102. Cf. Setton 1962, p. 142 n. 10.

⁵⁵ Brecht 2000, p. 11. Cf. Buchanan 1956, pp. 149–51 who argues that Luther was opposed to crusades but not necessarily to wars.

⁵⁶ Mau 1983, pp. 647–49.

Mau also stressed Luther's growing apocalyptic visions and utterances in his later years and asked: "Vollzieht Luther mit dieser von der apokalyptischen Sicht der Dinge her bekenntnisartig vertretenen Deutung des Türkenkrieges eine Rückwendung zu den Voraussetzungen des Kreuzzugsgedankens?"⁵⁷ This is an interesting question actually left unanswered by Mau. Luther believed the war against the Turks to be "einen gotseligen krieg wider den Turcken vnd [the soldiers] sind heilige Christen vnd sterben seliglich".⁵⁸ As Martin Brecht remarks: "Der Tod im Kampf gegen die Türken wird um einer guten Sache willen erlitten, und insofern kann das Gewissen ruhig und getröstet sein".⁵⁹ This is an understatement. Luther was particularly clear on this point. If soldiers went to war against the Turk with the right intentions and on the command of a just authority and found death, they would become martyrs and saints. That soldiers could win spiritual rewards in warfare, and that war could be a path to salvation is an aspect of Luther's view of the war against the Turk that very few have commented on. It is interesting to see this central characteristic of the crusade take such a prominent place in Luther's writings—and it was in fact not confined to warfare against the Turks. It suggests that there was room in Luther's theology for holy war and that God granted spiritual rewards to his soldiers. It will be the purpose of the remaining part of this chapter to investigate Luther's view of war, particularly against the Turk, with special attention to this aspect.

Luther and the Turkish Advance

When Luther published his 95 theses in 1517, he strongly criticised the practice and theology of indulgences. In the fifth thesis he declared: "the pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any punishments beyond those which he has imposed either by his own judgement or in accordance with the canons".⁶⁰ The fundamental premise for the indulgence had thus been removed. He did not, however, explicitly mention the crusade indulgence although that would necessarily be implied. If Luther did not mention the crusade indulgence directly, others did. In Denmark, Paulus Helie wrote in his so-called *Skibby-Chronicle* in the late 1520s or early 1530s:

⁵⁷ Mau 1983, p. 658.

⁵⁸ Martin Luther, *Vermahnung zum Gebet wider den Türken*, p. 620.

⁵⁹ Brecht 2000, p. 17.

⁶⁰ Martin Luther, *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum*, p. 233.

That year [1502] a Danish doctor by the name of Herman, who belonged to the Knights of Saint John, came to Denmark as papal legate to preach a so-called crusade (“*cruciata*”) against the Turk, but by his letters and bulls of indulgence—that is pure and simple audacity—he eradicated much piety. Because these kinds of legates and their vicars did not teach the people to show real remorse, but to sin without fear, the window was opened allowing Lutheranism to come in. And never has the Turk been mightier than when people started preaching crusades against him... because this preaching is not the result of piety but of greed.⁶¹

The need for inner conversion in order for the indulgence to have any effect was stressed by the Catholic Church since the church reforms of the late eleventh century: “Where there is no true repentance of the heart, penance is of no avail. Thus healing powers cannot be given, unless to him who is penitent of the whole heart”, as was decreed at the council of Clermont in 1095.⁶² The theology of indulgences was only clarified from the thirteenth century.⁶³

In the Late Middle Ages, they were met with growing criticism. Criticism of indulgences was not necessarily the same as criticism of the crusade.⁶⁴ In England, Lollard criticism of the crusade was limited and the English reformer Wycliffe, although attacking the crusade of Bishop Despencer (cf. chapter 1), actually did not argue against the crusade in general.⁶⁵ In the fifteenth century in England, for example, the chancellor of the University of Oxford, Thomas Gascoigne, who relentlessly criticised the English bishops for lack of piety and zeal, wrote that it was easy for people to lose sight of the real meaning of indulgence. According to him “many believed that it conferred immunity from damnation and that having purchased it one could behave exactly as one pleased”. According to Jonathan Harris, the English bishops who advocated the crusade were aware of this danger and “took steps to remind people of the cause which lay behind the indulgence”.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Paulus Helie, *Chronicon Skibyense*, p. 69.

⁶² Somerville 1972, pp. 79, 115. Cf. J. M. Jensen 2003b.

⁶³ Cf. for the development with special respect to the crusade indulgence, Bysted 2004.

⁶⁴ Cf. Lunt 1962, pp. 612–20.

⁶⁵ Tyerman 1988, pp. 262–63; Paulus 2000, p. 435. Others like the Majorcan mystic Ramon Lull seems to have given up his ideas of an armed crusade that he advocated so strongly in the years 1305–11 in favour of a program of mission and education of missionaries. His ideas were presented on several occasions during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but it is on the other hand not necessarily the same as criticism of the armed crusade, cf. Hillgarth 1971.

⁶⁶ Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci et libro veritatum*, p. 48; Harris 1999, p. 30.

Gascoigne considered the apathy with which the English bishops reacted to the news in the East “was a prime example of their collective moral turpitude”.⁶⁷ Gascoigne’s dislike of indulgences in general did not make him an adversary of the crusade itself, understood as the war against the enemies of the Christian faith. As Paulus Helie’s attack on the crusade indulgence in also Denmark bears witness, many reform-minded Catholics looked with growing dismay on the indulgences.⁶⁸ Pope Paul III (1534–49) tried to get the crusade indulgence abolished or at least restricted at the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Spanish opposition rejected the proposal because the *cruzada* or crusade tax had become one of the Habsburg monarchy’s chief financial incomes.⁶⁹ The council ended by declaring “Since the power of granting indulgences has been given to the Church by Christ, and since the Church from the earliest times has made use of this Divinely given power, the holy synod teaches and ordains that the use of indulgences, as most salutary to Christians and as approved by the authority of the councils, shall be retained in the Church; and it further pronounces anathema against those who either declare that indulgences are useless or deny that the Church has the power to grant them”.⁷⁰ However, the crusade indulgence was given a minimal role in the Catholic tracts concerning war with the Turks from the Reformation onwards, although papal crusade bulls were still being issued.⁷¹ When the German Catholic preacher Matthias Kretz in 1532 preached crusade against the Turks, he talked about martyrdom but did not mention indulgences.⁷² In this, he can be compared to Luther.

In 1518 Luther published his *Resolutiones*, which developed further the points he had put forward in his 95 theses. He turned against those who gave money for the crusade against the Turk to obtain the indulgence without confronting their own sins first. The Turkish onslaughts might even be God’s punishment for this kind of behaviour. Thus if you went to war against the Turks you might oppose the will of God. Before

⁶⁷ Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci et libro veritatum*, p. 123; Harris 1999, pp. 24, 30 n. 36.

⁶⁸ Cf. Paulus 2000, pp. 435–50.

⁶⁹ Housley 1992, pp. 146–48, 312–18; Gaztambide 1958; Paulus 2000, pp. 395–420, esp. pp. 417–20.

⁷⁰ Denzinger 1922, p. 324 (no. 989).

⁷¹ Cf. Tyerman 1998, pp. 102–3.

⁷² Kretz is quoted in Bohnstedt 1968, pp. 41, 43–44, 34–35 and cf. below p. 252.

fighting the Turks you had to overcome your own sins.⁷³ This can be regarded, first, simply as a slight variation of criticism put forward all through the Middle Ages concerning the proper function of indulgences and second, as the most common explanation for defeat—that the sins of the crusaders had been too great and God had punished them for this. Luther was not alone in putting forth these views. Both Erasmus von Rotterdam and Ulrich von Hutten argued along similar lines, as he was well aware.

For instance, on 21 December 1518, Luther wrote to his friend the secretary of the Elector Friedrich of Saxony, Burkhardt of Spalt (known as Spalatin):

If I rightly understand you, you ask whether an expedition against the Turks can be defended and commanded by me on biblical grounds. Even supposing the war should be undertaken for pious reasons rather than for gain, I confess that I cannot promise what you ask, but rather the opposite... *Erasmus expresses the same opinion in many places*... It seems to me, if we must have any Turkish war, we ought to begin with ourselves. In vain we wage carnal wars without, while at home we are conquered by spiritual battles... Now that the Roman Curia is more tyrannical than the Turk, fighting with such portentous deeds against Christ and against his Church, and now that the clergy is sunk in the depth of avarice, ambition, and luxury, and now that the face of the Church is everywhere most wretched, there is no hope of a successful war or of victory. As far as I can see, God fights against us; first, we must conquer him with tears, pure prayers, holy life and pure faith.⁷⁴

Erasmus had indeed stressed the need for penance and to fight the interior Turk before being able to overcome the external Turk. In 1527 he wrote that if the “Turk within” could be overcome, the actual Turks and Jews would be so overcome with admiration that missionary work would hardly be necessary: “Witnessing our good deeds, both Turks and Jews would glorify our heavenly father and desire to enter such company”.⁷⁵ According to the analysis of Norman Housley, Erasmus’ basic views changed very little throughout his maturity despite the many

⁷³ Martin Luther, *Resolutiones disputationem de indulgentiarum virtute*, p. 535 and cf. p. 619. “If war or the Turk is coming”, he wrote in 1527, “no-one should flee their villages and small cities, but rather await the punishment of God through the sword, as would be proper. He whose faith is so strong awaits it, but no-one condemns himself by fleeing”, Martin Luther, *Ob man vor dem sterben fliehen möge*, pp. 348–49.

⁷⁴ *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 1:282–83 (no. 125).

⁷⁵ *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 6:483–91 (no. 1800), at pp. 489–90; Housley 2002, p. 150.

crusade plans and initiatives of the period.⁷⁶ In the *Institutio principis christianis* he wrote: “Judging by the people who fight this kind of war [the crusade] nowadays, it is more likely that we shall turn into Turks than our efforts will make them into Christians. Let us first make sure that we are truly Christian ourselves and then, if it seems appropriate, let us attack the Turks”.⁷⁷

Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), a German humanist with strong national sentiments and supporter of Luther, wrote in 1518 an exhortation to the German princes to wage war against the Turks. Like Luther, he strongly objected to papal leadership in this war. Rome should pray, preach the Gospels, but not wage war. The emperor and the German princes, however, should take the initiative and fight against the Turk to bring honour to the German nation. He believed that the politics of popes since the time of Gregory VII had prevented the German emperors from successful crusades, which had eventually resulted in the loss of the Holy Land.⁷⁸ Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534), the German humanist and patriotic historian, wrote a treatise, which described the danger of the Turks and admonished the German empire to take up arms against them as well as against the pope, while at the same time he sharply rejected the institution of indulgences.⁷⁹ Others argued that the idea originated with Peter the Hermit and was taken over by the popes who added indulgences etc.⁸⁰ It is interesting evidence of the idea that the crusade had been corrupted by the popes, and the emperor now should conduct the crusade in the manner it was meant to be conducted. The war against the enemies of the faith could now be waged in the proper manner. This was really the point Luther wanted to stress.

In 1520 Luther wrote two tracts which shed further light on the need for reform. In *Von den guten Werken* he argued that the Roman curia was the “spiritual Turk” and the real enemy of the Germans that had to be overcome first.⁸¹ He repeated this in the other work *An den christlichen*

⁷⁶ Housley 2002, p. 151.

⁷⁷ Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Institutio principis christiani*, p. 287; Housley 2002, p. 151.

⁷⁸ Ulrich von Hutten, *Exhortatio ad principes Germanos, ut bellum Turcis inferant*, pp. 101–4. Cf. Mau 1983, p. 647; Schmugge 1987, pp. 24–25.

⁷⁹ Aventinus, *Annales Ducum Boiariae*. He also gave a somewhat confused report of the First Crusade, 1:149–50.

⁸⁰ Cf. Schmugge 1987, p. 25 ff.

⁸¹ Martin Luther, *Von den guten Werken*, esp. at pp. 241–42.

Adel deutscher Nation.⁸² In this work, Luther also addressed the question of crusading taxes. He argued against sending a part of the annates that had been agreed at the *Reichstag* in 1518 to Rome to be used for the war against the Turks because the money only went into the papal coffers and was not used for the actual purpose. He also desired to put an end to the abuse of issuing crusade indulgences for the same purpose. If such money was collected, it should remain in Germany.⁸³ As both Mau and Brecht argue, this is not evidence of a rejection of the thought of fighting the Turks.⁸⁴ It was, however, perceived in this way by contemporaries, both Lutherans and Catholics.

For instance, Pope Leo X wrote to the Elector Friedrich of Saxony, Luther's protector in 1518: "It seems to us more necessary every day to take thought for a crusade against the Turk's unholy wrath...but while we were considering how to bring this to pass, and were bending all our forces to this end, Satan reveals this son of perdition and damnation...who has dared in your territories to preach to the Christian flock against us and the holy Roman see".⁸⁵ He directly accused Luther of having argued not to do battle against the Turk in the bull *Exurge Domini* from 1520 as the thirty-fourth of forty-one alleged errors of Martin Luther: "to fight against the Turks is to oppose the judgement God visits upon our iniquities through them".⁸⁶ Two years later, he sent a copy of the bull *Exurge Domine* to the Elector, observing that Luther "favours the Turks and deplores the punishment of heretics..." and that "such a one has not been sent by Christ but by Satan..."⁸⁷ Both the *dictum* and the interpretation of it as meaning not to fight against the Turk became widespread, for instance through the works of Luther's opponent Johannes Cochläus.⁸⁸

⁸² Martin Luther, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, p. 427. Cf. Martin Luther, *Fastenpostille*, p. 125.

⁸³ Martin Luther, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, pp. 418–20. Cf. Ulrich von Hutten's comments to clause 34 of *Exurge Domine*, where he simply described the crusade taxes as an expression of the pope's avarice, *Ulrichi Hutteni equitis Germani Opera*, 5:314.

⁸⁴ Mau 1983, pp. 647–49; Brecht 2000, p. 11. Cf. Buchanan 1956, pp. 150–51.

⁸⁵ *Luther's Correspondence*, 1:126.

⁸⁶ The bull is printed in *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, pp. 614–18: "Prælati adversus Turcas, est repugnare Deo visitanti iniquitates nostras per illos". The forty-one errors are reproduced in Denzinger 1922, pp. 257–60. Cf. Setton 1962, p. 142 nn. 9–10.

⁸⁷ *Luther's Correspondence*, 1:334–35.

⁸⁸ Cf. Johannes Cochläus, *Dialogus de bello contra Turcas*; *Luthers Werke*, 8:287; Martin Luther, *Zwei kaiserliche uneinige und wider wärtige Gebote*, p. 277; Setton 1962, p. 140 n. 9; Heath 1986, pp. 15–20.

It was not just the Catholics that had understood Luther in this way. In England the humanist Thomas More attacked Luther for arguing for pacifism in face of Turkish aggression.⁸⁹ Many Lutheran preachers went about preaching against fighting the Turks. In his introduction to his *Vom Kriege wider die Türken*, written in 1529, Luther still felt the need to distance himself from those who preached that you should not fight against the Turk: "Some are even so foolish that they preach that it is not fitting for any Christian to wield the secular sword or take action [against the Turk]". "And for such error and evil ('yrthumbs und bossheit') among the people Luther is blamed", Luther writes, "and that is called the 'fruit of my Gospel' ('die frucht meines Ewangelii')". It had never been his intention to argue non-resistance, he claimed, and he stressed that he was not to blame for their apparent misinterpretation of his statements. Luther acknowledged having put forth this thesis, but explained that he had only been talking of the pope's role and not how the secular authority should act against the Turk.⁹⁰ And he had indeed argued along these lines from an early date. At the beginning of the year 1521, he was working on a detailed defence of the articles condemned in Leo's bull. First he wrote it in Latin and then translated it into German to give it a wider audience. In his defence he explained that he had "put forth this article not meaning to say that we are not to make war against the Turk, as that holy heresy-hunter ('heylyge ketzermecher'), the pope, here charges me, but to say that we should first make ourselves better and cause God to be gracious to us; not plunge in, relying on the pope's indulgence with which he has deceived Christians heretofore and still deceives them".⁹¹

In the light of the Turkish advance with the conquest of Belgrade (1521) and Rhodes (1522), the victory at Mohács (1526) placing Hungary under Turkish control, and not least the siege of Vienna (1529), Luther became more and more concerned with the question of fighting them. From about 1523, Luther had repeatedly been asked to write

⁸⁹ Adams 1962, pp. 274–76.

⁹⁰ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege wider die Türken*, p. 107; Martin Luther, *Om Krigen mod Tyrken*, p. 13.

⁹¹ Martin Luther, *Grund und Ursach aller Artikel D. Martin Luthers*, p. 443. The Latin version: Martin Luther, *Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per bullam Leonis X. novissimam damnatorum*, pp. 140–41. Cf. Setton 1962, pp. 142–43. Luther had already put forth his arguments a couple of months earlier, cf. Martin Luther, *Von den neuen Eckischen Bullen und Lügen*, pp. 584–85.

about the war against the Turks.⁹² He touched upon the subject when he sent his *Vier tröstliche Psalmen an die Königin von Ungarn* to the widowed queen of Hungary.⁹³ King Louis of Hungary had just been killed in the defeat by the Turks at Mohács in August 1526. In this work he criticised the princes and bishops for their lack of resistance against the Turks.⁹⁴ The defeat made Luther fully realize the danger of the Turkish advances, as he wrote to Spalatin in September.⁹⁵ After the defeat at Mohács, Luther also wrote the treatise *Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können*. In this work he acknowledged the righteous necessity of an armed opposition to the Turkish invasions.⁹⁶ But before Luther wrote his treatises on warfare against the Turk he had developed the notion that war could lead the soldiers to salvation in his writings against the peasant risings in Germany.

Secular War and Martyrdom

The peasant risings that Germany experienced in the late 1510s and the 1520s were not the result of a uniform movement. The political, social, and religious backgrounds were very different in the areas that were involved in the risings. The goals and the perceptions of the right order of society also differed depending on the social background of the leaders of the different risings. One of the common features was the demand for religious reforms, but the weight that this particular aspect was given differed from region to region. In Schwaben, however, a program consisting of twelve articles or demands was produced that became so widespread and popular that they can with some reservations be considered as a kind of charter for the movement. They were written down by a man named Sebastian Lotzer, who had been trusted with the task by the peasants in Oberschwaben in 1525. He was a furrier from the city of Memmingen and was influenced by the thoughts of Zwingli. He gave the complaints of the peasants a more common and general relevance, arranged them more systematically, and sought to

⁹² Martin Luther, *Vom kriege wider die Türken*, pp. 107–8.

⁹³ Martin Luther, *Vier tröstliche Psalmen*.

⁹⁴ Martin Luther, *Vier tröstliche Psalmen*, at pp. 574, 589, 604–5. Georg von Sachsen and others argued that it was the heresy of Luther and the dissent it created that had caused the defeat at Mohács, *ibid.*, p. 544.

⁹⁵ *Luthers Werke, Briefwechsel*, 4:118–19 (no. 1039).

⁹⁶ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können*. The shift that Christopher Tyerman saw in Luther's view on the war against the Turk thus at least took place much earlier.

give them a biblical foundation. The result became the twelve articles that were worked out in February and March 1525. The priest Christoph Schappeler, who was the leader of the evangelical movement in Memmingen, wrote in a kind of preface that it was not the purpose of the peasants to instigate revolt. They only wanted to live according to the Gospel and hear it preached. If it came to revolt it was because of other people's resistance to the Gospel. The treatise was intended to be used in the negotiations with the princes in the Schwabian Union that had been created to counter the peasants. The two sides agreed that a commission should decide if the articles were in accordance with scripture, and the peasants suggested Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli and other leading evangelical reformers. The princes did not intend to negotiate with the peasants in earnest but only tried to gain some time before the army of the union could be gathered and rout all opposition. On the other side the peasants organized themselves militarily in a "Landesordnung".⁹⁷ As Norman Housley has pointed out, there can be no doubt that the war was about religion, but that is not the same as arguing that it was religious war.⁹⁸ For the present purpose it is not necessary to go further into this particular point. Instead, we shall take a closer look at Luther's arguments against the peasants and how he came to the conclusion that soldiers could obtain spiritual rewards by spilling blood even better than through prayers.

Luther received a copy of the articles in April and was at first pleasantly surprised, not least because the peasants agreed to be corrected if they had erred, as he wrote in the preface to the small treatise that he composed concerning the twelve articles and the dire prospect of a civil war in Germany.⁹⁹ Luther needed to address the question of the peasant risings especially as the peasants used his teachings as the legitimate background for their movement and political and social actions. First he addressed the princes whom he blamed for the present chaos and uproar—especially the blind bishops and mad priests and monks. The peasant risings and the preaching of false prophets had been inflicted

⁹⁷ Cf. the introduction in *Luthers skrifter i udvalg*, pp. 211–28; Kyrre 1988. In Denmark peasant risings were brutally suppressed in 1524 and 1525, cf. *Den danske Kirkes Historie*, 3:289–91.

⁹⁸ Housley 2002, pp. 90–95. Cf. also the review of some recent historiographical debate on whether the Gospel formed an overarching ideology connecting the various parties in the Peasants' War, Housley 2002, pp. 8–9.

⁹⁹ Martin Luther, *Ermahnung zum Frieden*; Martin Luther, *En fredsappel*.

upon them by God as punishment for their sins. They should listen to the very reasonable claims put forward in the twelve articles.¹⁰⁰

Then he addressed the peasants. He agreed that it was only too true that lords and princes who prevented the Gospel from being preached deserved that *God* brought them to fall, but the main point was that the *peasants* did not have the right to rise against their secular lords. The lords might be evil and unjust but that was no excuse for instigating a revolt. To punish evil was not the business of everybody but only the duty of the secular authority that carried the sword (Rom. 13). Luther was definitely not a social reformer. This law—that even heathens, Turks, and Jews must obey—was necessary if peace and order were to prevail in the world. The peasants were actually worse than Turks and heathens because they broke this divine natural law of the secular authority. Instead, Luther argued for a peaceful settlement through negotiations and arbitration.¹⁰¹ But matters had already progressed too far.

In April it came to war and it quickly spread to the whole of Germany. Luther believed that the peasants resisted being instructed and it was now the duty of the secular authority by the powers vested in it by God to draw its secular sword and fight the peasants. He made his opinion known in the treatise *Wider die räuberischen und mörderischen Rotten der Bauern*, which was printed in May 1525.¹⁰² It was printed together with his *Admonition for peace* for those who still wanted to be corrected.¹⁰³ The treatise is interesting in this context because it sheds light on Luther's view on warfare and his notion that warfare could lead the soldier to salvation.

In his first treatise he had not wanted to condemn the peasants because they agreed to be admonished and instructed, as he wrote. But now their true intentions were revealed. They were guilty of three offences against God and people and thus condemned themselves to death in both body and soul. First they had sworn fealty to their secular authorities as God commanded. But now they broke their vows and were

¹⁰⁰ Martin Luther, *Ermahnung zum Frieden*, pp. 293–99; Martin Luther, *En fredsappel*, pp. 229–33.

¹⁰¹ Martin Luther, *Ermahnung zum Frieden*, pp. 299–334, esp. pp. 303–310; Martin Luther, *En fredsappel*, pp. 233–53, esp. pp. 235–39.

¹⁰² Martin Luther, *Wider die räuberischen und mörderischen Rotten der Bauern*; Martin Luther, *Imod bøndernes røver- og morderbander*.

¹⁰³ Martin Luther, *Wider die räuberischen*, p. 345; Martin Luther, *Imod bøndernes*, pp. 261–62.

disobedient and even rebelled against their lords and thus, as Paul said (Rom. 13), inflicted punishment upon themselves. Second they rebelled, robbed, and plundered “in a criminal way” monasteries and castles that were not even theirs. For this reason alone they condemned themselves to death in body and soul. An apparent rebel could be convicted and killed by any human being even before he was convicted—or “as fast as possible” as Luther writes—because he was already an outlaw according to the law of God and emperor and it would thus be a good and just deed.¹⁰⁴ Third, they used the Gospel as a cover for their sins. In this way they mocked God and desecrated His name, and thus served the Devil under the pretext of the Gospel.¹⁰⁵

Because the peasants in this way had turned against both God and man and obviously did not want to submit themselves to or await any arbitration, Luther needed to instruct the secular authorities in which way they should proceed with a clear conscience in this situation. Luther neither could nor would forbid the secular authority that possessed both the intent and will to crush and punish these peasants without waiting for an arbitration to do so—even if it did not acknowledge the Gospel. It would be in its good right since the peasants no longer fought for the Gospel but had become “deceitful, false, disobedient, rebellious murderers, robbers, and blasphemers”. Even heathen authorities had the right and authority, even the duty, to punish such criminals.¹⁰⁶

But the Christian authority that acknowledged the Gospel should, however, act in a pious way. First it had to realize that it deserved the present situation and place the matter in the hand of God. Then it must humbly ask for God’s help against the Devil because, Luther said, “we fight not only against flesh and blood here but also against evil spirits that one needs to engage through prayers”. Thus with the heart turned to God, one should offer “arbitration in abundance” to the mad peasants even though they did not deserve it. If it failed the authorities should immediately use the sword. Because a lord must remember that he was given the sword for this purpose, and if he failed to punish these

¹⁰⁴ “He ‘takes the sword’ who, without permission or orders from a superior and legitimate power, takes arm to shed another’s blood”, Augustine had explained, and he shall therefore perish by it. This was part of canon law and was frequently used by other early sixteenth century authors to legitimize warfare, cf. Heath 1986, pp. 17–19.

¹⁰⁵ Martin Luther, *Wider die räuberischen*, pp. 357–59; Martin Luther, *Imod bøndernes*, pp. 263–65.

¹⁰⁶ Martin Luther, *Wider die räuberischen*, p. 359; Martin Luther, *Imod bøndernes*, pp. 265–66.

kinds of criminals he sinned as much as a person who killed without proper authority.¹⁰⁷ If the lord failed, he was actually to blame for the killings performed by the peasants. He would intentionally be setting aside the command of God. In this way the authorities should cheerfully and with a clear conscience continue to strike the sword against the peasants until the last drop of blood. Because they fulfilled their function ordained by God—and thus also the will of God—it meant that those who were killed on the side of the rulers would become true martyrs in the eyes of God, provided, however, they fought with the good conscience that Luther had just explained. The individual soldier would thus act in obedience to God and His word and could die with a clear conscience, knowing he would receive the eternal kingdom. And the opposite would, of course, be true as well: He who lost his life on the side of the peasants would burn eternally in the fires of Hell.¹⁰⁸ “So strange has the time become that a prince can make himself worthy to enter heaven through bloodshed even better than others can by help of prayers”.¹⁰⁹

Luther very clearly spoke of the war against the peasants as a war where the soldiers could be saved through use of the sword, and he underlined that no one on the opposing side should be spared. The latter point was taken very literally by the princes. In the following months they inflicted some severe defeats on the peasant armies, which they followed up by bloody massacres. At the same time, Luther's treatise became known to the larger public. It was met with severe criticism from all directions. At first Luther chose to ignore the criticism but was admonished by different people, among others the chancellor in Mansfeld, Caspar Müller, to answer the criticism in a new treatise and explain why he had written so heatedly against the peasants. The result was ready within a month, towards the end of July 1525. In this treatise *Ein Sendbrief von dem harten Büchlein wider die Bauern*, he vigorously defended his earlier statements. It sheds interesting light not only on

¹⁰⁷ Martin Luther, *Wider die räuberischen*, pp. 359–60; Martin Luther, *Imod bondernes*, p. 266.

¹⁰⁸ Martin Luther, *Wider die räuberischen*, pp. 360–61; Martin Luther, *Imod bondernes*, pp. 266–67. It was now the time of anger and of the sword—not the time of mercy, Luther stressed.

¹⁰⁹ Martin Luther, *Wider die räuberischen*, p. 361: “Sölch wunderliche zeytten sind itzt, das eyn Fürst den hymel mit blutvergissen verdienen kan, das denn andere mit beten”; Martin Luther, *Imod bondernes*, p. 267.

Luther's ideas of how war could lead to salvation, but also on how they were perceived by his contemporaries.¹¹⁰

First of all, he placed those who criticised him and his treatise among the ranks of the rebels.¹¹¹ The people who criticised him were mixing up the two spheres, just as the peasants did, when they used the sword to fight for the Gospels as Christian brothers and killed other people in its name. The secular authority was actually showing mercy and performing an act of love when they punished the evil.¹¹² Luther's critics had also blamed him for being the instigator of rebellion himself when he said that anyone who was capable of it should immediately strike at and kill the rebels. But again Luther explained that he had made a distinction. He had only been talking about the rebels—not criminals in general. A sharp distinction had to be made between a rebel and a murderer, a thief, or other kinds of criminals. A murderer for instance did not attack the head of society, but only its limbs. As long as the head could punish him, no one was allowed to attack the murderer. With rebels, it was different. A rebel attacked the very head of society—both its sword and office—and his crime could not be compared to the murderer's. In the face of such an attack everybody should act like faithful limbs and come to the rescue of their head. Luther explained it by way of a parallel. If a servant of a lord saw that his lord was attacked by an enemy, and even though the servant had the power to prevent the attack, he allowed the attacker kill his lord, would the servant not be called a villain and a traitor by people and God and thought to be in league with the attacker? But if on the other he had leapt between the attacker and the lord, and put his life at risk for the sake of his lord and killed the attacker, would it not be a brave and honourable deed that would be praised before God and people? Or if the servant died, in what way could he obtain a more Christian death? For then he would really die in the service of God, which is related to the deed itself, and if he did it as a believer, he would be a true, holy martyr of God.¹¹³ To act on the secular authority's behalf in this way had been commanded by Christ himself. Even though Luther was a priest and even had he been in the service of a Turkish lord

¹¹⁰ Martin Luther, *Ein Sendbrief von dem harten Büchlein wider die Bauern*; Martin Luther, *Äbent brev om det skarpe skrift imod bønderne*.

¹¹¹ Martin Luther, *Ein Sendbrief*, pp. 385–86; Martin Luther, *Äbent brev*, pp. 276–77.

¹¹² Martin Luther, *Ein Sendbrief*, pp. 391–92; Martin Luther, *Äbent brev*, p. 284.

¹¹³ Martin Luther, *Ein Sendbrief*, pp. 397–98; Martin Luther, *Äbent brev*, pp. 291–92.

and saw that his master was in danger, he would forget his spiritual office and cheerfully join the ranks and fight the best he had learned to the last drop of blood. Should he be killed in the event, he would go straight to Heaven.¹¹⁴

With this image he underlined his statement that the times had become so strange that you could make yourself worthy of Heaven through murder and bloodshed. Apparently this remark had been understood to mean that people could be saved by their actions. And had Luther not taught himself that people were saved through faith alone? Luther was clearly in danger of contradicting himself, and on basis of the text alone the objections seem reasonable. This, however, made Luther indulge in irony: "By God how forgetful Luther had become! Before he taught that people can be saved by the faith only, not by works. But here he ascribes salvation not only to works, but even the heinous work of shedding blood".¹¹⁵ Luther claimed in reply that he was only using words that were also used in the Bible. Had Matthew not written: "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:10)? Luther then equalled those who punished on behalf of justice with those who were persecuted. Luther was probably inspired by Augustine's commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, where Augustine reached the same conclusion: If you fought for righteousness you became blessed. It is interesting to note that exactly this interpretation of Augustine was used in the late eleventh century by Bonizo of Sutri to argue why it was fitting for a Christian to bear arms for the true faith. To fight schismatics and heretics was even seen as the duty of the Christian knight by Bonizo. This was the function of the knightly *ordo*. Otherwise it seemed superfluous.¹¹⁶ He belonged to a group of reformers that believed that the pope possessed both the spiritual and secular sword to wage war against all kind of sinners that prepared the way for Antichrist. Bonizo concluded in his treatise that if they fought for truth and righteousness, "the soldiers of God" could take up arms for the true faith and fight

¹¹⁴ Martin Luther, *Ein Sendbrief*, pp. 398–99; Martin Luther, *Äbent brev*, pp. 292–93.

¹¹⁵ Martin Luther, *Ein Sendbrief*, p. 399; Martin Luther, *Äbent brev*, p. 294.

¹¹⁶ Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad Amicum*, pp. 572, 618–20, esp. at p. 619: "Idem de sermone Dei in habito in monte, cum de beatudinibus loqueretur et venisset ad 'Beati qui persecutionem paciuntur propter iustitiam' equaliter dixit beatos eos, qui persecutionem inferunt propter iustitiam, acsi qui persecutionem paciuntur propter iustitiam". It was echoed by the leading canonists of the day: Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, cols. 709–10; Anselm of Lucca, *Liber contra Wibertum*, p. 523. Cf. J.M. Jensen 2003b.

with a pure heart.¹¹⁷ The call to crusade in 1095 was an expression of this line of thought,¹¹⁸ and it is interesting to see Luther use this particular way of arguing.

Luther, naturally, still believed—despite having had to admit that the Gospel in some places said that Christ rewarded acts of mercy—that deeds could not in themselves determine anything in relation to God. Only faith could. How this could be, he had explained in other writings, he said. When he praised bloodshed in his former treatise, Luther explained, he had only been talking of the secular authority that was Christian and performed its office in a Christian way, especially when you went to war against the gangs of rebels. If this authority should not act righteously by shedding blood and performing its office, then Samuel, David, or Samson could not have been acting justly when they persecuted the criminals and shed blood. Luther had only done his duty as a Christian preacher and instructed the secular authority.¹¹⁹ It should be underlined that Luther was not talking of war as penance; that the soldier could be saved by works. As a good Christian, it was his duty to fight. He was to give this line of thought a more thorough treatment the year after.

Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können?

Luther very explicitly argued that soldiers could become martyrs through the use of arms when exercising their office. The year after his treatises on the war against the peasants, he published a small treatise that focused on this theme: *Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können?* It was written at the instigation of a noble knight named Assa von Kram, who was a colonel in the army of the Elector Johann of Saxony, to whom the treatise was dedicated.¹²⁰

As early as 1522, Luther had made up his mind very clearly concerning the secular authority and its right to use the sword.¹²¹ The secular authority was the servant of God, which meant that all people must

¹¹⁷ J.M. Jensen 2003b, esp. pp. 124–25; J.M. Jensen 2001, pp. 91–106 for further references and discussion.

¹¹⁸ Cowdrey 1985, p. 49; J.M. Jensen 2003b, p. 125.

¹¹⁹ Martin Luther, *Ein Sendbrief*, pp. 399–400; Martin Luther, *Åbent brev*, pp. 294–95.

¹²⁰ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können?*; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater også have Guds nåde?*

¹²¹ Martin Luther, *Von weltlicher Oberkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei*; Martin Luther, *Om lydighed mod den verdslige øvrighed*.

obey it, Jews, heathens, and Christians alike. True Christians were allowed to use the sword only in the service of the secular authority. From this perspective Luther would have nothing to do with warfare in the name of Christ. Soldiers could only be called to this war as servants of the secular authority. Luther explained away the conflict between the words of Christ on turning the other cheek and the use of force and concluded: "No Christian is allowed to use the sword or call for help to his own advantage, but for another human being he must and shall use it, in order to suppress evil and protect the good".¹²² This is why a true Christian is not allowed to use the sword, but can be a good Christian through the use of it. The sharp distinction between the two spheres had been maintained in Luther's thinking. But it was understandable if the subtlety of the argument was not fully comprehended.

In his treatise on whether soldiers too could be in the state of grace, Luther treated the question whether the Christian faith allowed a person to be a soldier: that he waged war, killed and murdered, plundered and burned as soldiers do to the enemy in war according to the laws of war. He did not go into details about how the office of being a soldier was just and ordained by God, as he had already proved that. He confined himself to repeating that the sword was ordained by God to punish the evil, protect the good, and to uphold the peace. Therefore it was apparent that the outcome of war was also ordained by God.¹²³ Although naïve people thought that killing was not a Christian act, and that it therefore was not suitable for a Christian to perform such an act, it could in fact be an act of love, Luther argued. It could be equated with a good doctor who amputated a limb to save the whole body. It was all a matter of perspective. If you focused on how the soldier in his service punished the evil and killed the unjust and was the cause of much misery, then it appears to be a very un-Christian act and opposed to Christian love. But if you focused on how he protected the pious and good, protected wife and children, house and home, possessions, honour, and the peace, it became apparent how much God desired and took pleasure in killing. You realized that the soldier too

¹²² It naturally followed that if secular authority and the sword were used to serve God, then all the offices that were necessary for the prince to exercise his authority could be a service to God. Thus clerks, executioners, jurists, lawyers etc. could also perform their duties and be in the state of grace at the same time, Martin Luther, *Von weltlicher Oberkeit*, pp. 260–61; Martin Luther, *Om lydigbed*, pp. 176–77.

¹²³ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 624–25; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 309–10. Cf. Martin Luther, *Von weltlicher Oberkeit*, p. 254 f.; Martin Luther, *Om lydigbed*, p. 169 f.

amputated a limb in order to save the whole body.¹²⁴ War as an act of love is a very interesting idea to see so clearly expressed in the writings of Luther. Not because it was strange in itself. The idea was a solid Augustinian concept and Luther knew Augustine well. It is interesting because the argument was put forth almost verbatim to argue in favour of the crusade all through the Middle Ages.¹²⁵

From here, Luther moves on to the law of war. War could be waged by three kinds of persons, he says. 1) When equal fights equal, that was when there was no bond of allegiance between the two or that the one was the other's subject. 2) When a lord fought his subjects. 3) When the subject fought his lord.¹²⁶ Luther began with the last case and was on this point very specific. No subject was allowed to fight his lord, because God ordained the office. Only if the lord became insane was it permitted to depose and imprison him.¹²⁷ Not even if the lord was a tyrant, was it permitted to depose him.¹²⁸ He then used Denmark as an example, which showed that he was familiar with the accusations made against Christian II, and concluded that Christian II's subjects had no right to judge him, because they at the same time judged God and the office he had created.¹²⁹ No war against ones superior or lord could be just.¹³⁰

Concerning the second situation, when a lord fought his subjects, Luther began by saying that he who started a war was unjust. Secular authority had not been ordained or created by God to break the peace and initiate a war, but to uphold the peace and stop those who waged war.¹³¹ But as before, this did not mean that war was not to be waged. The function of the sword was to protect the peace of the good and to punish the evil with war, Luther said.¹³² This was an Augustinian doctrine, which had formed the basis for legitimising just wars all through the Middle Ages. In the late eleventh century, Anselm

¹²⁴ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 625–26; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 310–11.

¹²⁵ Cf. Riley-Smith 1980.

¹²⁶ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 632–33; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, p. 318.

¹²⁷ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 634; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 318–19.

¹²⁸ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 634–41; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 319–26.

¹²⁹ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 641–42; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 326–28.

¹³⁰ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 643–45; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 330–31.

¹³¹ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 645; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, p. 331.

¹³² Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 645; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, p. 331.

of Lucca cited Augustine in his canonical collection of 1083 on the relationship between war and peace: "Peace is not to be achieved by incitement to war, but war must be fought in order to attain peace. Be peace-loving in your war-effort, so that you will lead those you fight to the benefit of the peace by defeating them".¹³³ This was also cited by Ivo of Chartres and later taken into the basic canonical text Gratian's *Decretum*.¹³⁴ This was the reason why the secular authority carried the sword, as Anselm wrote to William the Conqueror in the 1080s: "You do not carry the sword without a reason, because you are the instrument of God to coerce the wicked to the benefit of the good", which was almost verbatim what Luther wrote.¹³⁵ Luther found many good examples of this in his own days and in the Old Testament.¹³⁶ A war could only be just if it was waged in self-defence and to oppose an attacker. But then no one should abstain from war. But it was not enough to know that you possessed the right to wage war and that your war was just. You had to be humble and fear God all the time.¹³⁷ While fighting, you had to be brave and courageous, but at the same time be humble in your heart. To wage war against your equal must thus be something forced on you and it must be waged in fear of God.¹³⁸ In the light of the Turkish advance there was no doubt that they fitted into this category.

But no lord could wage war without soldiers. The soldiers had to be careful with regard to their motives for participating in war. If called upon by his lord, the soldier should fight knowing that he served God.¹³⁹ But he should not go for want of money or honour. It is heathen and un-Christian to inflame the soldiers in this fashion: After battle we will win honour and booty. Instead, the correct way would be to say: We are gathered in obedience to our lord, whom, according to God's command, we have a duty to support with life and property even acknowledging

¹³³ "Non enim pax quaeritur, ut bellum excitetur, sed bellum geritur, ut pax adquiratur. Est ergo bellando pacificus, ut eos, quos expugnas, ad pacis utilitatem vincendo perducas", cited from Cushing 1998, p. 130, n. 29.

¹³⁴ C. 23 q. 1 c. 3, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 1:892 with n. 79.

¹³⁵ *Briefsammlungen*, p. 17 (no. 1).

¹³⁶ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 645–47; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 331–33.

¹³⁷ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 647–649; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 334–35.

¹³⁸ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, p. 651; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, p. 337.

¹³⁹ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 652–53; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 339–42.

that we are as sinful as our enemies. We know that—or to the best of our knowledge—the cause of our lord is just. Thus the soldier would be assured that he served God and would become the executioner of God: “Be brave and dauntless and know that your hand and lance are the hand and lance of God and shout with heart and mouth: To God and the emperor. If we win honour it shall be given to the Lord who acts through us poor sinners. But the booty and the pay we will take as granted to us by his divine mercy and we shall thank him of our heart”.¹⁴⁰ Booty and pay could not be the reason or motivation for war, but God naturally granted it to those who fought his battles. It could be argued that this kind of exhortation smuggled both honour and booty in through the backdoor when addressing the soldiers.

Finally, Luther treated the problem that many soldiers were superstitious and they invoked the help of saints, used spells etc. This was idolatry and those who performed such acts should be condemned. Instead, each soldier should say that they did not believe that they could be saved through works, but only through the mercy of God. “If you hereafter will say the confession of faith and *Pater Noster*, you can do so and leave it at that. Surrender then your body and soul in the hands of God and draw your sword and chop away in the name of God” (“schlahe drein ynn Gotts namen”).¹⁴¹ The concept of spiritual reward to soldiers and war in the name of God had thus developed in Luther’s mind long before he wrote explicitly on war against the Turks.

Luther hinted towards the end of *Ob Kriegsleute* at the possibility that he considered writing a special treatise on war against the Turks for two reasons: First, because the Turk had come so close to Germany and second, to counter the accusations and criticism put forward by the humanist from Vienna, John Cuspinian, against what Luther had written in 1524.¹⁴² But as the Turks had withdrawn, he no longer considered a special treatise on war against them necessary. But the Turks would return, and when they stood before the walls of Vienna, Luther wrote several works urging both princes and soldiers to fight them.

¹⁴⁰ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 653–58; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 342–45. Cf. Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, p. 174.

¹⁴¹ Martin Luther, *Ob Kriegsleute*, pp. 660–62; Martin Luther, *Kan soldater*, pp. 347–48.

¹⁴² In 1524 he had especially criticised the emperor for using the title as defender of the faith—“obersten Beschirmer des christlichen Glaubens”—in the war against the Turk. That “arme sterbliche Madensack”, Luther commented: Faith is in itself the undefeatable godly power that cannot be protected by a human being, Martin Luther, *Zwei kaiserliche*, pp. 277–278. Cf. Brecht 2000, p. 12.

The War against the Turks

The first tract that he published explicitly on warfare against the Turks came in April 1529, called *Vom Kriге wieder die Türken*.¹⁴³ In September the Turks were at the walls of Vienna. He began with a consideration of the article condemned by the pope: "I still confess freely that this article is mine and that I put it forth and defended it at the time; and if things in the world were in the same state now that they were in then, I would still have put it forth and defend it. But it is not fair to forget how things then stood in the world, and what my grounds and reasons were, and still keep my words and apply them to another situation where those grounds and reasons do not exist. With this kind of art, who could not make the gospel a pack of lies or pretend that it contradicted itself?"¹⁴⁴ Things had changed dramatically since Luther first put forth his statement concerning war against the Turks. He then—perhaps in light of the changed circumstances—went on to explain what he meant by his article condemned by the pope. He had only written about the ecclesiastical *ordo*. The pope and the church had taken on the role of a secular authority. They said they were Christian, and they still pretended to wage war against the Turk. But from this stemmed the misunderstanding of the article, because he had not yet written about the secular authority, Luther explained. According to Math. 5:39, a Christian shall not set himself against evil but suffer everything, allowing the cape to go with the coat, allowing oneself to be robbed, turning the other cheek etc. When they claimed to be Christian and still went on to fight the Turks, he held this word of Christ against them that Christians should not fight against evil, but suffer and endure it. This was the meaning of the article that had now been condemned by Pope Leo X. And he did it with pleasure in order to expose the Roman fraud: The popes had never with a sincere mind intended to fight the Turks, but only used the war against them as a pretext for the sale of indulgences, by which they robbed the German countries of their money to the best of their ability.¹⁴⁵ Thus the pope did not condemn the article because it hindered the war against the

¹⁴³ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriге wieder die Türken*.

¹⁴⁴ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriге*, pp. 108–9.

¹⁴⁵ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriге*, p. 110; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 16. Cf. the arguments put forth in 1520, above pp. 226–27.

Turk, but because it stopped the flow of money to the papal coffers. If the pope really intended to wage war on the Turk, Luther wrote, he would have used all the money that came in from payments for the pallium, annates and numerous other incomes. Then they did not have to sell indulgences. Christ, Luther argued, did not come to wage war with the secular sword; he came to bless the world, not to kill people. His work was to spread the Gospel and by his spirit save mankind from sin and death, to help them from this life to eternal life. He confessed to Pilate that his kingdom was not of this world (John 18:36).¹⁴⁶ But that did not mean that the secular authority could not be Christian or indeed that a Christian was not allowed to draw the sword and serve God under the secular authority. Had all princes just been Christian, the Turk would not have become as powerful as he was. But Luther demanded that a distinction should be made between the different offices and callings, and he demanded that everybody should consider to what God had called him. “Just ask experience how well we have succeeded against the Turk when we have conducted wars in the name of Christ and as Christians until we lost Rhodes and large parts of Germany”, he argued. Recent defeats Luther easily explained with the presence of ecclesiastics in the army. Ecclesiastics should stay at home and take care of their offices as ordained by God. They were not allowed to take any part in secular warfare. This was what the article had been about, and what he had meant by it.¹⁴⁷

But before Luther wanted to urge anyone to fight against the Turk, he first of all wanted to instruct them to fight with a good conscience. First, there could be no doubt that the Turk had no right to wage his war and attack countries which were not his. His wars were thus nothing but crime and robbery by which God punished the world. The Turk did not fight out of necessity or to keep his country in peace as a just authority did, but like a pirate or a high-way robber, he sought to rob other countries and do them harm regardless of the fact that they neither did nor had done anything to harm him. “He is the scourge of God and a servant of the Devil. No doubt about that”.¹⁴⁸ Second, you needed to know who was about to fight the Turk, so you could be sure that you were working under the command of God and act justly.

¹⁴⁶ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, pp. 111–12; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁷ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, pp. 112–15; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, pp. 17–20.

¹⁴⁸ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, p. 116; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 21.

You must not go to war for revenge or for some other bad reason. There were only two just warriors and that was all there should be; one was Christianus, the other Emperor Carolus. Christianus should conduct the first army. By this Luther meant that you needed to defeat the Devil first. It was a battle that could not be fought with armour, guns, horses, or riders. This war began with penance, because God had something bad in store for us because of our evil behaviour, and probably prepared the Turk against us as it was said in the seventh psalm (Psalm 7:13f.): “If you will not convert, he has sharpened his sword and bent his bow, aimed, and placed deadly arrows on the string”.¹⁴⁹ When thus instructed to do penance, people should be taught to say prayers against the Turk, and be instructed through the use of biblical quotations that such prayers mattered. Then people should be instructed on the “whole savage life” that the Turk lives to make them feel the need for such prayers even more urgently. The Turk was both a liar and a murderer like the Devil (John 8:44), who killed the soul with lies and murdered the body.¹⁵⁰ After having refuted the teachings of the Koran, Luther ended this part by stating that he wanted to tell all this to Christianus for him to be aware of the need for prayers. It was important to realize that in order to defeat the Turk you first need to overcome the “Alla” of the Turk, i.e. the Devil. Christianus should not fight corporeally against the Turk, as the pope and his followers taught, but recognize the Turk as the scourge of God and either endure him or fight him with prayers and tears.¹⁵¹

Luther knew parts of the Koran—“Mahomets Alkoran etlich stück”—through the works of the Dominican Ricoldus de Monte Croce’s (1243–1320) *Libellus contra legem Sarracenorum* (*Confutatio Alcorani*) and Nicholas of Cusa’s (1401–64) *Cribratio Alcorani*. He considered both works inadequate, as they were too polemical. In 1530, he published with a new foreword by himself the anonymous *Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum* that had been published in Rome in 1480 and appeared in several later editions.¹⁵² He only saw a full version of the Koran in manuscript shortly before it was published in 1542 by Theodor Bibliander, but knew enough around 1529 to be convinced that there was

¹⁴⁹ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, pp. 117–18; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, pp. 21–22.

¹⁵⁰ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, pp. 118–20, 124; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, pp. 23–25, 28.

¹⁵¹ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, p. 128; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 32.

¹⁵² Martin Luther, *Vorwort zu dem Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum*.

only a very small if any difference between the religion of the “papists” and the Muslims.¹⁵³ When he read a full Latin version of the Koran it was even worse than he had expected, which prompted him to publish a very liberal translation of Ricoldo’s work into German. Knowledge of the Koran was important to be able to prepare those who should fight the Turk, or were taken prisoner by them, for the infidelity of its teachings—not as an initial step towards mission and peaceful conversion. The Turk’s deceptions were too obvious for him to be characterised as Antichrist. The latter sat in Rome with his “Koran” in the form of decretals, *summae* etc.¹⁵⁴ The Turk was the Devil incarnate and the pope Antichrist—Gog and Magog—and before the Christians had overcome Antichrist in their midst, warfare against the Turks was doomed to fail. The Turks within had to be overcome first. This was the spiritual fight to be performed by Christianus.

The other person that was to fight the Turk physically was, according to Luther, the emperor, because the Turks attacked his subjects and he was ordained by God to protect them. So if you want to go to war against the Turk you must do it under the command, banner, and name of the emperor.¹⁵⁵ In this way you can be sure that you act according to divine will, because we know that the emperor is our rightful lord and ruler. If you obeyed him, you obeyed God and *vice versa*. If a person died in obedience, he then died in a good state, and if he had performed penance and believed in Christ, he would be blessed, Luther explained. The emperor’s reasons for the war must, however, also be just. Neither he nor anybody else should fight the Turk—as is common practice among emperors and princes—for the sake of honour, glory and plunder, expansion, or anger or vengeance. If you fought for these reasons, you did not serve justice, but only fought in self-interest. For that reason, the Christians had so far not succeeded against the Turk either in war or in plotting against him.¹⁵⁶

It would also be necessary to stop arguing that the emperor should fight the Turk as head of Christianity, guardian of the Church, and

¹⁵³ Bobzin 1995; Göllner 1961–78, 3:199–215. Cf. Mau 1983, p. 659; Brecht 2000, pp. 19–21.

¹⁵⁴ Martin Luther, *Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Ricardi*, pp. 388–96; Bobzin 1995, pp. 142–156; Göllner 1961–78, 3:216–26.

¹⁵⁵ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, pp. 129–30; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 33.

¹⁵⁶ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, p. 130; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, pp. 33–34. A little earlier in the treatise, Luther lamented that many *Reichstags* had assembled but not been able to agree on a war against the Turk.

defender of the faith as was previously done on the basis of arguments concerning the evil conduct and immorality of the Turk. This was not the way to argue, because the emperor was not the head of Christianity or the protector of the Gospel or the faith. The defender of the Church and the faith must be someone other than the emperor and the kings. To claim otherwise would be idolatry and profanity.¹⁵⁷

The emperor's sword had nothing to do with faith. If the emperor had to eradicate all the unbelievers and non-Christians, he should begin with the pope, the bishops and the ecclesiastics, and perhaps not even spare himself or his subjects. There was enough of horrendous idolatry among us, Luther argued, without fighting the Turk for that reason. As was obvious from our recent luck with the Turk, Luther wrote, there was no end to the deep felt grief and misery that had been caused with "cruciata, indulgence and distribution of crosses by which means they have exhorted the Christians to fight against the Turk, when they should have fought against the Devil and idolatry with words and prayers".¹⁵⁸ An "useless fool" ("unnützer wesscher") will probably come from Rome and argue that it is the emperor's duty to fight against the Turk as the defender of Christianity. What he should be saying, according to Luther, was to remind the princes of the commandment of God with these words: "Dear lord, emperor, and princes. If you want to be called the defender of faith you must act like that or else the Turk will teach you a lesson through wrath and disgrace. Germany or the empire has been given to you by the grace of God with command to protect, rule, and support it. This is not only a must—you have to do this under threat of the damnation of your souls and the loss of the grace of God".¹⁵⁹ For this reason, Luther argued that the other man to fight the Turk had to be the emperor and that the war should be waged under his banner. That this banner has been held just for a piece of silk-cloth and not the banner that said: "protect the good, punish the evil!" was apparent to everyone. Otherwise the emperor would have raised it a long time ago and the princes would have followed him. Let's pray it is not too late. Yet no one should despair. Penance and honesty always

¹⁵⁷ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, p. 130; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 34. It would be against the Gospel, Luther argues, quoting Psalm 2:2, which says that the emperor and kings are the enemies of the faith, which the Church complains about everywhere.

¹⁵⁸ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, p. 131: "da man das hertzeleid und iamer hat angericht mit der Cruciata, mit ablas und Creutzgeben, Und also die die Christen zum schwerd und streit gehetz widder die Turcken"; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, pp. 34–35.

¹⁵⁹ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, p. 133; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 35.

find mercy (Judg. 10:11).¹⁶⁰ He then exhorted the German princes to support Emperor Charles V against the Turk, because it was God's command that the princes should protect the people.¹⁶¹

The tract on war against the Turks was published only months before the Turkish siege of Vienna. Just after the siege he published a prayer for the army against the Turk: *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*.¹⁶² He began working on it before the news of the Turkish withdrawal from Vienna reached him on the 26 October.¹⁶³ On the purpose of this tract he wrote to his friend Wenzel Link on 29 October 1529: "We have heard that the Turk has fled, but Daniel says that he will fight against the saints until the judgement shall come, and the Ancient of Days shall sit upon his throne... I am publishing a warlike sermon to arouse the army against the Turks".¹⁶⁴ It was intended to incite the soldiers to do what Luther in October 1529 stated to his friend Nicholas Hausmann he would do personally: "I'll struggle on even to death against the Turks and the God of the Turks".¹⁶⁵

This *Heerpredigt*, Luther said, was published to those limbs of Christ that after all were present in Germany in order to comfort and warn them in this dangerous time. The Devil not only intended to destroy the secular realm through his witness the Turk, but also to destroy the realm of Christ. He will therefore split the sermon into two parts, first to enlighten the consciousness and second to exhort the hand.¹⁶⁶ First it is important to realize what the Turk is according to Scripture. Scripture predicted two gruesome tyrants, who would torment and destroy Christendom. The one would ravage spiritually with deceit and false sacraments and teachings contrary to the true Christian faith and the Gospel. It is he who is called Antichrist by Saint Paul. This was, of course, the pope. The other would destroy with the sword in the most gruesome way. This was the Turk. The Turk was the last and worst of the Devil's furious attacks against Christ. This was the

¹⁶⁰ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, pp. 134–35; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, pp. 37–38.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, pp. 127–41.

¹⁶² Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*; *Dr. Martin Luther's Feltprædiken imod Tyrken*.

¹⁶³ *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 5:166–67 (no. 1484). The Turks lifted the siege on the 14 October.

¹⁶⁴ *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 5:169–70 (no. 1487), at p. 170.

¹⁶⁵ *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 5:167: "Ego vsque ad mortem luctor aduersus Turcas & Turcarum Deum".

¹⁶⁶ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, p. 161; *Dr. Martin Luther's Feltprædiken*, p. 54.

harshest of God's punishments of the ungrateful and ungodly despisers and persecutors of Christ and his Word. Undoubtedly, Luther wrote, this was the precursor of hell and eternal punishment, because Daniel witnessed that judgement and hell would follow the Turk. He then gave an interpretation of the Turkish advance in world history according to the Revelation of Daniel, which we shall to return to later. Luther concluded by saying: "We have now seen what the Turk and his Muslim realm must be reckoned as according to scripture. He was an enemy of God, a defiler and persecutor of Christ and his saints with sword and warfare, because his warfare explicitly was directed against Christ and those who believed in Christ. No one who wanted to fight against the Turk should therefore be in doubt what to believe and do when ordered to fight against the Turk: "He shall not be in doubt that when he fights against the Turk he fights against the enemy of God and Christ, against the Devil himself. He shall not worry over his faith and think that he spills innocent blood when he kills a Turk or a Christian, but indeed the enemy of God as is said in Daniel". Even Christians should not be spared if found among the ranks of the Turks. It would be no sin to kill them: "No Christian or friend of God can possibly be found in the army of the Turk without denying Christ and himself becoming an enemy of God and his saints. They all belong to the Devil and are possessed by him as are their lord Mohammed and the Turkish emperor". For this reason, Luther said, he advised in his former book not to wage war in the name of Christ or go to war against the Turk because he was an enemy of the Christians, because Daniel wrote that the Turk would win over the Christians. Luther strongly advised, and still did in this treatise, to be prepared as a Christian to endure the persecutions of the Turk. No one should fight as a Christian, but instead the secular lord should wage war, and the soldiers fight under his name and banner according to the oath they had given their lord.

Look, Luther wrote, now you have a clean conscience and can be a good and happy person. Your happy heart undoubtedly will make your body and horse stronger, because you know that you go to war in obedience to your lord according to the will and command of God, which obliges you to such warfare and demands it from you. You no longer need to worry about spilling innocent blood in the army of the Turk, because you have heard that the enemies of God have been condemned to death and hell. God commands you through your secular lord to fulfil the judgement over the Turk and assures you that your hand and your lance are the hand and lance of God. You are the

executioner of God and his champion against his great, cursed enemy. In what way could you fight more honourably and worthily?, Luther asked.¹⁶⁷ Although the soldier was fighting a secular war, he was still the instrument of God. That the soldier in this way was performing what must be considered the will of God through the use of arms very much approximates him to the crusader. Although the theme of martyrdom was propounded by crusade preachers, the popes were in fact very reluctant to promise martyrdom to warriors both before and during the crusade—although they often testified afterwards to this status for those who died—because they believed that only God was capable of deciding who became martyrs.¹⁶⁸ Luther went far beyond such reservations. If the Turk kills you, Luther wrote, in what way could you gain a more honourable death, if you are indeed a Christian? First Daniel is standing here and is making you a saint, because he says that “The Turk fights against God’s holy”. The Turk is thus a murderer who can only spill the blood of the innocents. Everyone he kills on our side, he turns into martyrs. It is certain that he creates a lot of martyrs, because there must be many Christians where the Turk fights against the saints, as Daniel says. The Turk thus does to you what Daniel writes about him, that he is a murder of saints and maker of martyrs.¹⁶⁹

Through pure and unstained obedience to God and the secular prince, the soldier became the instrument of God. There was, of course, a marked difference from the crusader, as it was by obedience to the secular lord that the soldier served God and became His instrument. The crusader made a vow directly to God, and it could perhaps be argued that the Lutheran soldier has been once removed from God, compared to the crusader, but the result was nevertheless the same. “If you could choose”, Luther wrote, “you should rather die a hundred thousand times at the hand of the Turk than gain victory with the Turkish emperor with all his wealth and honour, because, as said, you are surely a saint when you do what a Christian is supposed to do and fight in obedience. Heaven is yours, no doubt about that, but what is the victory and honour of the Turk compared to Paradise and

¹⁶⁷ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, p. 174; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprediken*, p. 63.

¹⁶⁸ Bysted 2004, pp. 53–67, 255–56.

¹⁶⁹ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, p. 174; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprediken*, p. 63.

eternal life?"¹⁷⁰ Actually Luther offers a good bargain—like Bernard of Clairvaux had done 400 years before. No one knows when his time has come. Instead of dying in your sins, you should rather, even gladly, surrender yourself to God through such an honourable, holy death. So many of God's commandments assure you that you will not perish in your sins while fighting the Turk, but instead in obedience to God's commandment. Perhaps in an instant you can free yourself from all misery through fighting and go to Heaven with Christ.¹⁷¹ This is much better "than lying in bed and struggling with yours sins and death". In this instance you will die alone while a failing gland or some pestilence devours you. If you die in war against the Turks, as Daniel says according to Luther, many holy ones will die with you, and you will have divine, holy, and loving followers to go with you.¹⁷² This kind of death you would go to end of the world in search of when your time has come. You should not wish a lesser curse for the person that does not welcome such a thing with delight, than for he who fell into the hands of the Turk and became a Turk, a serf of the Devil, who just like his lord the Turk is condemned by the Lord to death and hell.¹⁷³

Luther stressed that he was telling this to those who wanted to be Christians in order for them to know how to behave and comfort themselves in these difficult times. They should not be alarmed too much by the Turk or his god, the Devil. Even if the Turk were to devour all Christians completely, he would not have accomplished anything else than a much harsher and much quicker punishment, while the Christians would enter Heaven faster. Luther again quoted Daniel to prove that those killed by the Turk were saints.¹⁷⁴ Luther then went on to describe the atrocities performed by the Turks. The Turk chops to pieces and pierces the babies of the Christians, spikes them on stakes, and kills and maltreats everybody who cannot escape. But because of the strong words of Daniel, Luther thought nothing of this. It

¹⁷⁰ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, pp. 174–75; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprä-diken*, pp. 63–64.

¹⁷¹ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, p. 175; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprä-diken*, p. 64.

¹⁷² Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, pp. 175–76; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprä-diken*, p. 64.

¹⁷³ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, p. 176; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprä-diken*, p. 65.

¹⁷⁴ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, pp. 176–77; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprä-diken*, p. 65. Beside Daniel, Luther quotes 1. Pet. 3:13; Ps. 116:15 and 72:14.

was more a play to the world, because no brave man would bow his head at seeing his child and wife being hacked to pieces and put on stakes. On the contrary, he would be bitter and angry and fight with all his might, risk everything he owned, and if he died everybody else would be even more enraged and throw themselves against the pack of Devils. Luther, of course, stressed that revenge and honour were the wrong theological reasons to fight the enemies of God—as Pope Urban II did in 1095—but in a hortatory sermon it was of course in its place. But even witnessing such atrocities was less gruesome to the Christians, because “we know that such spiked and mutilated children and brave people are all saints”, Luther assured his readers.¹⁷⁵ Luther acknowledged that such arguments might be in vain and only a small comfort when the loved ones were killed before your eyes. And such arguments would not stop the Turk’s advance but only make him laugh. But let him laugh, Luther said, Christ will soon enough make him stop and teach him a lesson. And Luther is not writing to the Turk, but to comfort the Christians. We have Daniel, Luther said, and the Turk can laugh all he wants, because we possess this text that tells us without lie and deceit that those the Turk fights are the saints of God.¹⁷⁶

Luther also acknowledged that the Christians were not always protected physically by the angels as in the Old Testament, because Christ meant to be weak on the earth and was killed in order for his kingdom to grow. Because his kingdom was not physically of this earth, his battle was strongest when there was much suffering and many martyrs. Among the Christians there were only angels and within the ranks of the Turk only devils. This, Luther stressed, did not mean that the Christians should put down their weapons and let themselves be killed by the Turks without resistance as the martyrs did in times of peace in the same fashion as they still do and ought to do: “they should not drop their weapons and let them themselves be murdered by the Turks without offering resistance as the martyrs did... Because they are Christians and subdued a secular authority with their life and possessions and they have been called by the rulers to go to war against the Turk, they should act like faith-full subjects—what they surely do if they are true Christians—and happily use their fists and cheerfully charge, kill,

¹⁷⁵ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, pp. 177–78; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprediken*, pp. 65–66.

¹⁷⁶ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, p. 178; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprediken*, p. 66.

steal, and do as much harm as they can, as long as they can move a limb, because they have permission from their secular authority, for whom they are obliged to perform such service, and God commands them to do it unto death".¹⁷⁷ Thus, if you are a true Christian, you will naturally fight the Turk. The Old Testament martyrs, Luther continued, did not lay down their weapons either when the emperor told them to go to war against a tyrant or some other enemy. They did not let themselves be killed because they would then not have served their emperor well. No, they used their fists and fought gladly at their lord's command, because they were in that sense not Christians but subjects of the emperor and had the duty to kill the enemies. And those who lost their lives were considered not only good Christians but faithful subjects. Just like them the Christians should now fight the Turk because he is an enemy not only of Christ but also of the emperor and our secular authority.¹⁷⁸ But not everybody, Luther warned, could simply go to this war and be killed in the safe expectation of being a martyr. The Turk is both the scourge of God and a punishment for our sins. First he had to perform penance and mend his ways and then with prayers he could join in the joy.

Thus ends the first part of the prayer against the Turk. There can be no doubt that Luther distanced himself from the crusade indulgence. The war was no longer a penitential act that would earn the soldiers an indulgence. On the other hand, it is beyond dispute that Luther argued that the soldiers who participated in the war against the Turk would be martyrs and saints. They were fighting as instruments of God against His enemy. Not in their capacity as Christians but as loyal subjects to their lord—as they should if they were Christians.

The Right Intention

Although Luther actually stressed the need for right intention, in his use of Daniel—who maintained that everybody killed in wars against the Turk would be a martyr and a saint—he came close to promising spiritual rewards to the soldiers regardless of their inner disposition. In the other treatise on *War against the Turk*, further light is shed on

¹⁷⁷ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, p. 179; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprediken*, p. 67.

¹⁷⁸ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, pp. 179–80; *Dr. Martin Luthers Feltprediken*, p. 67.

this theme. First he said that when two things are present—the command of God and our humility—then there is no danger and we can take on battle with anybody successfully. Should it fail, one of the two prerequisites was most likely missing: Either the war was not fought on a divine command, or the first warrior, the Christian, was not there with his prayers. But were both things present, it was not necessary to warn not to seek honour or profit in battle, because he who fought humbly and in obedience to the command of God and *ex officio* only strove simplemindedly to defend and protect his subjects most likely would forget to think of honour and plunder. Indeed, that would come to him even more abundantly and better than he could have wished.¹⁷⁹ Luther could not have explained away better the apparent contradiction between plunder and crusade that some historians have had such a difficult time to come to terms with.

As seen, Luther held it as a prerequisite that the faithful had to overcome the vices within themselves before being successful in battle against the Turks. To overcome the interior Turk, as Erasmus wrote.¹⁸⁰ Not to fight to gain honour nor money nor seek vengeance, as Luther himself wrote. He was actually—most likely un-willingly—paraphrasing the statute concerning the First Crusade from the council of Clermont in 1095, which stated: “Whoever for devotion alone, not to gain honour or money, goes to Jerusalem to liberate the church of God can substitute this journey for all penance”.¹⁸¹ Such motives were also explicitly rejected by Luther’s contemporary Catholic crusade preacher Matthias Kretz. He hoped that the soldiers used against the Turks would “fight not in order to gain great honour and glory, or to acquire lands and possessions, nor out of anger and a desire for vengeance. Such motives are Turkish, not Christian, and one cannot vanquish the Turks with Turks”. Kretz was not very optimistic given that many of the emperor’s troops would be “loot-mongers, blasphemers, drunkards, gamblers, lechers, etc.” He sought refuge in hopes for their moral conversion as they contemplated the cause for which they were fighting.¹⁸² Erasmus had gone beyond such hopes. To him, European mercenaries were “a barbarian rabble, made up of all the worst scoundrels”.¹⁸³ The mercenaries,

¹⁷⁹ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, p. 136; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 39.

¹⁸⁰ Above pp. 225–26.

¹⁸¹ Somerville 1972, p. 74.

¹⁸² Bohnstedt 1968, pp. 41, 43–44, 34–35; Göllner 1961–78, 3:197.

¹⁸³ Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Institutio principis christiani*, p. 282.

who sacked the Dutch town of Asperen in 1517, showed “more than Turkish ferocity”.¹⁸⁴ As long as the interior Turk had not been overcome, war against the external Turk would be futile.¹⁸⁵

To Luther, this also seems to have been a necessary precondition for successful warfare against the Turks. This is why he carefully laid down how the emperor and the Christian soldiers should prepare themselves before going to war against the Turk. Luther’s strong emphasis on martyrdom is probably partly due to the rhetorical style and hortative nature of these treatises. Despite his utterances concerning the proper internal disposition, Luther came close to promising martyrdom to all killed in battle against the Turks regardless of their motives. Is Luther in danger of facing the same accusations he put forth against the pope and the indulgence? Could his line of reasoning not be in danger of being misused? How would it have been perceived by the general populace? As Mark Edwards commented on Luther’s highly polemical style and language, Luther was running the risk that his readers would be so carried away that they failed to realize the boundaries Luther set.¹⁸⁶ Although Luther took care to instruct the soldiers to fight with the right conscience, the force of the argument was placed on the theme of martyrdom, which he promised to all soldiers who fell in battle against the Turks. It would be this promise that stuck in the heads and minds of those who listened to the sermons calling to war against the Turks based on Luther’s teachings.

Apocalyptic Thoughts Concerning the Turk

Luther, like so many of his contemporaries, was convinced that he lived in the last days and that the world was about to end.¹⁸⁷ He saw the signs of this with the appearance of the papal Antichrist and the advance of the Turks. He interpreted them according to the apocalyptic predictions of Daniel and Revelation. The Protestant reformers Justus Jonas and Philip Melancthon had published interpretations of the vision of Daniel, linking it to contemporary events.¹⁸⁸ The friend of

¹⁸⁴ *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 3:64–65 (no. 643); Housley 2002, pp. 151–52.

¹⁸⁵ Housley 1998, pp. 259–79.

¹⁸⁶ Edwards 1983, pp. 66–67.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Barnes 1988.

¹⁸⁸ Philip Melancthon, *In Daniele Prophetam Commentarius*; Justus Jonas, *Das Siebend Capitel Danielis*, fols. Cii–Ei. Cf. Melancthon’s letter CR, 4:821–22 (no. 2495).

Luther, Justus Jonas, wrote in his commentary on the Book of Daniel that Turkey was the realm of the Devil that foreboded the last days.¹⁸⁹ In the *Heerpredigt*, Luther also made a commentary on the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel. It related Daniel's dream about four beasts, which were interpreted by Luther according to traditional Christian exegesis as historical empires. The first three beasts were: The Assyrian and Babylonian, the Median and Persian, and the Greek empire of Alexander the Great. The fourth beast was "certainly" the Roman Empire. In Daniel's vision it was described as "a fourth beast, terrible and dreadful and exceedingly strong", with ten horns, and there "came up among them another horn, a little one, before which three of the first horns were plucked up by the roots, and behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things". Whoever read the seventh book of Daniel would quickly be convinced that this little horn, which "made war with the saints and prevailed over them", could be interpreted as a prophecy of the Ottoman Turk's descent upon Germany. According to Jonas, Turkey could not be compared to other states because they have the "Alcorani", and for this reason Daniel speaks of the little mouth that speaks terrible things. Christ assigned two titles to the Devil: liar and murderer. The Turks both killed and lied, and his teachings were the last great heresy before Judgement Day.¹⁹⁰ In the end, as Daniel had foreseen in his terrifying vision, this horn would not win over the elect of God. Instead, an ancient man appeared to sit in judgement. The beast was then slain. A "son of man" was then presented to the ancient man and was given everlasting dominion. Although victory would come in the end, the German Christians must play their part in the divine drama of their own salvation. They must protect the temporal structure of society and the empire from degradation or destruction by the Turk, whose violence was that of the Devil, and whose final defeat was going to usher in the day of judgement.

Luther wrote in a letter to Nicholas Hausmann at Zwickau in October 1529 to make his fellow citizens "fear and tremble at the sight of the rod and wrath of God. It will not be a jest, but the final wrath of God, in which the world will come to an end and Christ will come to destroy Gog and Magog and set free His own. For all the prophecies of

¹⁸⁹ Justus Jonas, *Das Siebend Capitel Danielis*, fol. Fiv^r ff.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. Eii–Eiv.

Scripture are fulfilled, though we are certain that our humble prayers can avail somewhat against the Turk, who will plague us Germans not this winter only, but until the end of the world, as it says in Daniel VII".¹⁹¹ But the vision contained an element of hope because it predicted that the beast would be slain in the end. He wrote to his friend Hausmann in November 1529, "be strong, my Nicholas, in the Lord and do not fear the Turk overmuch. Christ lives. There is also hope in Daniel's vision, which Philip [Melanchton] and [Justus] Jonas are now publishing, that the Turk will not take possession of Germany... the day of judgement is at hand, and will destroy Gog the Turk and Magog the Pope, the one the political and the other the ecclesiastical enemy of Christ".¹⁹²

The edition of Daniel's vision appeared in 1530. Luther's foreword made it clear how firmly he believed in this.¹⁹³ The vision was interpreted in the same way that Luther interpreted it in his *Heerpredigt*. It ended with an admonition to his fellow Christians to fear God and make atonement for their sins to escape the chastisement of divine anger. He also exhorted the princes to carry the responsibility they bore to their people against the Turk, who fought against the word of God. He ended on a note of hope, however, for as the text of Daniel made clear, the Turk was doomed to destruction. This interpretation—although it was rejected by Calvin¹⁹⁴—became widespread among the German reformers and a familiar theme of Reformation eschatology well into the seventeenth century. It did not originate among them, however. It figured among the prophetic studies of the Franciscan Johann Hilten, who died in Eisenach in 1502, where Luther lived as a student. Luther took a great interest in Hilten's work, especially around 1529, as is apparent from a letter he received from Friedrich Myconius.¹⁹⁵ In 1552, Melanchton wrote to Johannes Matthesius that the Franciscan friar, Johann Hilten, predicted that in 1516 papal power would begin to decline, and that by 1600 the Turks would rule in Italy and Germany.¹⁹⁶ In 1560 Melanchton wrote a preface to a work called *De origine imperii Turcorum* in which he mentioned Hilten's prophecies:

¹⁹¹ *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 5:166–67 (no. 1484).

¹⁹² *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 5:176–77 (no. 1493).

¹⁹³ *Luthers Werke. Die Deutsche Bibel*, 11/2: xxvi–xlii, 2–48, 124–30; Edwards 1983, p. 97.

¹⁹⁴ Pannier 1937, pp. 283–85.

¹⁹⁵ *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 5:190–95 (no. 1501); Setton 1962, p. 155.

¹⁹⁶ CR, 7:1006–7 (no. 5124); Setton 1992, p. 42 n. 51.

“We behold the Turkish power being extended over the human race while the kings and other princes of Europe dissipate their strength in domestic warfare. In the meantime the Turks move onward. Eighty years ago Hilten predicted that by the year 1600 the Turks would be ruling in Italy and Germany”.¹⁹⁷ A conviction shared by Luther until his death 1546.¹⁹⁸

Liturgical War against the Turks

As before, the most important battlefield was spiritual. Like the crusade preacher Cardinal Carvajal, Luther believed the most effective weapon against the Turks to be prayers. Luther’s instructions in *Vom Kriege wider die Türken* are revealing.¹⁹⁹ After having instructed people to confess their sins and do penance, they should be taught to use frequent prayers and how much such prayers please God: One should say prayers and trust that they are heard. Those who prayed in doubt or with uncertainty should better not pray at all, because that would be like tempting God and would only make matters worse. He advised not to use processions because they were an un-useful heathen custom. And the same applied to masses and the invocation of saints. It would be better to have the youths sing or read the litany during mass, at vespers, or after prayers. It would be even better if everybody at home or in the heart sighed and asked for Christ’s compassion to achieve a better life, and for help against the Turk. Not any elaborate prayer, Luther said, but just frequent and short sighs, only using a couple of words like: “Oh, help us, dear Lord Father, have mercy upon us, dear Lord Christ and the like”.²⁰⁰ In such an exhortation to say prayer, quotations from scripture bearing witness to the good effect of prayers should be used. “To such prayer against the Turk should our great misfortune move us”.²⁰¹

In the *Unterricht der Visitatoren*, which all priests were to know, was found an article on the Turks. The manual was written by Melancthon and looked over by Luther before being published in 1528. It refuted “the cry of horrendous preachers” that Christians were not allowed to fight against the Turks. According to Rom. 13, secular lords undoubtedly had the obligation to fight against the aggressive Turks. The Turk had

¹⁹⁷ Quoted from Setton 1992, pp. 41–42.

¹⁹⁸ Mau 1983, p. 661. Cf. Lerner 1983, pp. 164–65.

¹⁹⁹ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, p. 118 ff.; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 23 ff.

²⁰⁰ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, pp. 118–19; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 23.

²⁰¹ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, pp. 119–20; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 24.

no honourable social order whatsoever. The people should therefore be instructed that it would be an act of God to fight against them on the command of the secular authority.²⁰² This actually had liturgical consequences, since in the beginning of 1529 Luther was working on the great *Bittgebet*—the old All Saints Litany—in both a German and Latin version. The congregation could take part in the prayers that were arranged for two choruses. Although the Turks are not explicitly mentioned, prayers against them could easily be fitted into the part for general prayers,²⁰³ just as special prayers against the infidels or in support of crusaders and the Holy Land could be fitted into the ordinary mass in pre-Reformation times. When the Turks were standing before the walls of Vienna in 1529, he wrote to his friends Nikolaus von Amsdorf and Nikolaus Hausmann and exhorted them to instruct their congregations in Magdeburg and Zwickau to do penance and say prayers.²⁰⁴ In 1532, he published 32 sermons held by Johann Brentz in 1529 addressing the issue of the Turkish attacks. He predicted new Turkish attacks as God's punishments.²⁰⁵

Another manual for preaching against the Turks was published by Johann Brentz in 1537.²⁰⁶ It began with the seventh chapter of Daniel. The Turkish attacks were seen as God's punishment for denouncing the revealed Gospel as heresy. Preachers should encourage people to do penance and at the same time admonish the authorities to fight the Turks. Those who died faithful to Christ should have no doubt that they would "attain eternal bliss". In everything the sermon followed the instructions and teachings of Luther. It contained examples of the atrocities committed by the Turks—for example at the conquest of Constantinople—to be used in the sermons. An example was the story of a mother from Rhodes who killed her two sons when it became apparent that the island would succumb in 1520: "She had probably heard what the Turks do to young boys". People should not despair in the face of Turkish victories, because even though the Christians were defeated, their efforts were not made in vain because it made the

²⁰² Martin Luther, *Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrherrn im Kurfürstentum zu Sachsen*, pp. 228–229; Brecht 2000, pp. 13–14.

²⁰³ Martin Luther, *Deutsche Litanei und Latina Litania correctae*; Brecht 2000, p. 16.

²⁰⁴ Martin Luther, *Predigten des Jahres 1529*, pp. 593–97 (October), 607–10 (November). Cf. above pp. 254–55.

²⁰⁵ Martin Luther, *Vorrede zu Johann Brentz*; Mau 1983, p. 657; Brecht 2000, pp. 21–22.

²⁰⁶ Johann Brentz, *Türcken Büchlein*.

progress of the Turks halt. This “Christian thing [the war against the Turks]”, Brentz wrote, “is praised by Bernhard [of Clairvaux] who calls it *sanctam et tutam miliciam*”. Brentz also recalled that Daniel promised that the Turk will lose in the end. After this sermon, according to Brentz’s instructions, should follow “*Da pacem Domini* in German with wonderful collects and prayers for temporal and eternal peace”. They explicitly addressed the Turks.²⁰⁷

In 1541, Luther published his *Admonition to prayer against the Turks*. The immediate background was the death in 1540 of John Zapolya who had been elected king of Hungary in 1527. He was then prince (voivode) of Transylvania and had been elected by a minority in Hungary following the death of Louis II at Mohács. According to the marriage contract between Ferdinand of Austria and Anna of Hungary and Louis II and Mary of Habsburg, Ferdinand was to succeed Louis if he died without a male heir, and the majority had indeed supported his election after the catastrophic defeat at Mohács. Negotiations between Ferdinand and Zapolya came to nothing. Ferdinand had led an army against Zapolya and won a clear victory over him in the fall of 1527. The Porte supported the weaker of the two contestants, though, and continued to support Zapolya. In 1529, Suleiman I personally led his army into Hungary, captured Buda, and got as far as Vienna, which made Luther write his treatises against them. When Ferdinand tried to gain advantages against Zapolya with a campaign in 1531, he only succeeded in angering the Turks, who broke off the peace negotiations and prepared for renewed attacks on Hungary and Austria. Charles V therefore had to make concessions to the Schmalkaldic League in 1532 and agree to the armistice of Nuremberg.²⁰⁸ As seen, the Danish king Frederik I also provided troops for the imperial armies that were sent against the Turks. In September, Charles marched with his brother Ferdinand against Suleiman I who invaded Hungary and besieged Köszeg in Habsburg-held western Hungaria (roughly the modern Slovakia) close to the Austrian border. Suleiman avoided open combat with the assembled Habsburg and imperial troops and withdrew from the siege, and because of the usual shortage of money, and because his troops refused to cross the Hungarian frontier, Charles could not

²⁰⁷ Ibid., fols. Aii–iv, Bi–iii, Civ–v.

²⁰⁸ Setton 1976–84, 3:229–367; Edwards 1983, pp. 98, 101–3.

pursue the retreating enemy or push forward to Gran at the Danube, besieged by Zapolya.

Charles had been frustrated of repairing his lack of personal battle experience with the Turks that was not fulfilled at that time. In 1535, he however managed to take Tunis in North Africa after the city had fallen to the admiral of the Turkish fleet, Kahr al-Din—or Barbarossa as he was called—the year before. His great crusading triumph was celebrated after his return to Sicily with a triumphant progress through southern Italy, culminating with his entry into Rome.²⁰⁹ In 1536, Francis I of France formed an alliance with the Porte against their common Habsburg enemy. When war broke out between Francis and Charles in the summer of 1536, Suleiman conducted raids with his fleet in the western Mediterranean in support of his ally. In the autumn of 1537, Ferdinand went on a punitive expedition against the Pasha of Bosnia, but his forces suffered a major defeat. Suleiman therefore began contemplating new offensives against the west after having been more occupied towards the east in the intermediate years. Zapolya got into a disagreement with Suleiman and entered a treaty with Ferdinand in the fall of 1538, recognizing Ferdinand as his successor in exchange for assistance against the Turks.

The situation in Europe was tense and war threatened on all sides both against the Turks and between Protestants and Catholics. The Protestants were very suspicious of any request for assistance against the Turks, fearing that it might be turned against them. Luther wrote an admonition to all Protestant pastors and exhorted them to hold before their congregations the two rods of God—the Turks and the papists—and to urge their listeners to repent their sins and mend their ways. It remained un-published throughout Luther's lifetime, but it circulated in manuscript form.²¹⁰ The sudden death of Zapolya in 1540 led to new wars of succession. According to the treaty of Grosswardein from 1538, Ferdinand was to be crowned king of Hungary. But instead, the followers of Zapolya proclaimed the infant son of Zapolya, John Sigismund, as their king. Ferdinand responded by invading Hungary and laying siege to Buda. Suleiman supported John Sigismund and instigated a major invasion the following year, inflicting a crushing

²⁰⁹ Tracy 2002, pp. 133–57; Richardson 2002, pp. 87–88; Seibt 1990, pp. 120–28; Setton 1976–84, 3:353–401.

²¹⁰ Martin Luther, *Eine Vermahnung an alle Pfarherrn*; Mau 1983, pp. 657–58; Edwards 1983, p. 102; Brecht 2000, p. 22.

defeat on the opposing German army, and both Buda and Pest fell to his troops. John Sigismund was recognized as king of Hungary, but Suleiman appointed himself as regent and much of Hungary came under direct Turkish control.²¹¹

It was these events that prompted the Elector Johann Friedrich to write to Luther in September 1541, informing him of the disasters and urging him to admonish the preachers of Electoral Saxony to say prayers against the Turks.²¹² In September 1541, Charles once again headed a crusade to North Africa, hoping to conquer Algiers. But a great storm caused most of his fleet to be wrecked off the African coast and in November he was back in Spain.²¹³ Luther had already been much alarmed by the Turkish threat and by mid-October his treatise was ready. "The importance of the subjects led to numerous reprints both that year and in subsequent years".²¹⁴ It called for penance and the need to fight the Turks. Luther stresses that against the Turks you are not fighting flesh and blood, but against the army of the Devil. The battle is not for gain or glory but that we: "Gotts wort vnd seine kirchen erhalten, sonderlich fur vnser liebe jügent vnd nach komen und gedencken zu wehren, dem Turcken das er seinen teuffels dreck vnd lesterlichen Mahmet nicht an vnsers lieben herrn Jesü Christi stad setze".²¹⁵ The soldiers fought a war pleasing to God against the Turks and were holy Christians and died blessed. Luther also suggested liturgical measures in connection with the traditional "Fastenliturgie" and suggested a "Gebetsgottesdienst" complete with hymns.²¹⁶

At the diet of Speyer in 1542, Protestants and Catholics decided to field a massive army against the Turks, and a special war tax was agreed upon. Luther was exempted from paying but nevertheless voluntarily assessed his property and paid his share.²¹⁷ The army assembled in the spring of 1542 and was led by the young Elector, Joachim of Brandenburg. He wrote to Luther and Melancthon in May 1542 and asked for their prayers for the success of the expedition. They both wrote back

²¹¹ Setton 1976–84, 3:401–449; Tracy 2002, pp. 158–69

²¹² *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 9:513–14 (no. 3666).

²¹³ Tracy 2002, pp. 170–76; Richardson 2002, p. 88; Edwards 1983, p. 102; Setton 1976–83, 3:450–68.

²¹⁴ Martin Luther, *Vermahnung zum Gebet*; Edwards 1983, p. 103.

²¹⁵ Martin Luther, *Vermahnung zum Gebet*, p. 620.

²¹⁶ Martin Luther, *Vermahnung zum Gebet*, pp. 606–10; Mau 1983, p. 658 n. 202.

²¹⁷ *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 10:17–22 (no. 3727); Edwards 1983, p. 106.

and promised their support.²¹⁸ Luther repeated his instructions from the *Admonition*, focusing on the moral conduct of the soldiers. Luther doubted Joachim's success and was proved right in his predictions when the campaign ended in utter defeat.²¹⁹ At the command of Joachim of Brandenburg, Luther and Bugenhagen issued an instruction to the pastors and superintendency at Wittenberg, exhorting the pastors to call their congregations to repentance and admonish them to pray against the rod of God the Turks.²²⁰ Melanchton also wrote instructions on how to preach in the army. He simply stated "it is a fact that the main objective of the Turks is to destroy the Christian name. It is therefore God's command to fight them".²²¹ Melanchton was, of course, no stranger to the crusade against the Turks. He wrote an "Exhortatio" to fight the Turks to the German Emperor. It was published with Carion's chronicle and printed separately several times in the second half of the sixteenth century.²²²

In December 1542, Luther wrote to Jonas that the Church should pray against the corporeal Turks, but even more so against the spiritual Turks at home.²²³ In 1543 Luther also criticised the *Pfarrherrn in Wittenberg* for not having paid the tax for the war against the Turks. He then admonished them to celebrate prayers against the Turks after each sermon and to pray that a united front against the Turks could be agreed upon. At home children should pray because it was all about their future and Luther believed that the prayers of children would be more effective than the princes.²²⁴ Around this time he also composed a hymn for children against the two archenemies of Christendom that begins: "Erhalt uns HErr bey deinem Wort, Und steur des Bapst und

²¹⁸ CR, 4:821–83 (no. 2495–96); *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 10:65–68 (no. 3753).

²¹⁹ *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 10:23–25 (no. 3728) and 64–65 (no. 3752); Setton 1976–84, 3:450–504, esp. pp. 477–78; Edwards 1983, pp. 106, 111–12.

²²⁰ Martin Luther, *Vermahnung an die Pfarrherrn in der Superintendenz der Kirchen zu Wittenberg*.

²²¹ CR, 4:821–22. Cf. *ibid.*, cols. 822–26.

²²² Philip Melanchton, *Exhortatio Maximiliani Caesaris ad bellum Turcis inferandum*, pp. 453–72.

²²³ Martin Luther, *Vermahnung an die Pfarrherrn*, pp. 558–60; *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 10:230–32 (no. 3832), at p. 230. Jonas followed Luther's instructions in providing examples from Scripture on the effectiveness of prayers, Justus Jonas, *Das Sibenden Capitel Danielis*, fols. Giii–iii'. Cf. also the prayers by Johann Brentz, *Türcken Büchlein*, fols. Civ–v.

²²⁴ *Luthers Werke. Tischreden*, 5:127, 202–3 (no. 5398, 5508, 5510), esp. p. 202: "Cum Doctor Ionas diceret filios suos orare contra Turcam, etiamsi non satis intelligerent, quae orarent, tum Doctor: Der kinder gebeth ist gut, denn sie haben noch reine stimmen und haben noch keinen opponenten gehabt".

Türcken Mord”.²²⁵ In fact, a number of the Protestant song books of the 1540s and 1550s contained hymns that asked for protection against “the haters of the Christian name” and petitioned that the Turkish menace be averted.²²⁶ The Latin songs *Da pacem, Domine* and *Media vita* and the orations that belonged to them that had been used as war-prayers in the Late Middle Ages against Hussites and Turks in the service after *Pater Noster* or *Agnus Dei* were simply translated by Luther to function in the same role against the Turks in the service of the reformed church with the important addition of “papists” next to the Turks.²²⁷ As in Germany, the hymn *Erhalt uns Herr* composed by Luther is still found in the official Psalm-book of the church in Denmark, although in a modified form.²²⁸

Conclusions

When Luther died in 1546, the Turks were as great a threat to Christendom as they had been all through Luther’s life. Melancthon mentioned the Turkish threat in his funeral speech over Luther.²²⁹ From 1517, Luther strongly opposed the indulgences of the Catholic Church. He further criticised the crusade taxes because they extracted money from Germany, not to counter the Turks, as should have been the case, but simply to fill the coffers of the papacy. Although he did not yet write a treatise in favour of war against the Turks, he nevertheless supported it from the early 1520s. He even underlined later that he had never been opposed to it. He simply opposed ecclesiastical leadership in warfare and had therefore written against the pope’s role in fighting the Turks, but he had not been talking about how the secular authorities should react to the Turkish threat. When Luther finally sharpened his pen to address the issue, the Turks were at the walls of Vienna. By then he had revealed his belief that warfare under the command of the just authority fought with the right intention could lead the soldiers to salvation. This became even more explicit in his writing on war against the Turks, which he viewed within an increasingly apocalyptic framework.

²²⁵ *Die Lieder Luthers*, pp. 467–68; Brecht 2000, pp. 24–26.

²²⁶ Moore 1945, pp. 33–34.

²²⁷ Heinz 1982, pp. 214–16.

²²⁸ Cf. Moore 1945, p. 34; Mau 1983, n. 202 p. 963; Lausten 2002, pp. 159–60. In 1555, it was translated into Icelandic by Bishop Martin Einarsson: “Halt oss, guð, við þitt hreina orð/og heft páfans og Tyrkjans morð”, J. Helgason 1963, pp. 80–81.

²²⁹ CR, 11:726–34, at cols. 733–34. Cf. Moore 1945, p. 34.

The bottom line was that it was a war that was pleasing to God, and if the soldiers fought with the right intentions they would win spiritual rewards—and perhaps even great booty. They would become the hand and lance of God. Not because they were Christians—because a true Christian would have to endure misery—but because they were loyal subjects to a secular lord, whom they should follow into war if they were good Christians. The separation between the spiritual and secular had—according to Luther—thus been maintained. At the same time—of which Luther himself is a prime example—the pastors should admonish their subjects to kill and strike as many enemies as possible in the name of God with a glad and happy mind, expecting martyrdom if they fell in battle.

The sharp separation between the spiritual and physical sphere argued by Luther soon proved to be difficult to uphold in practice. In 1543 he raged against the secular authority that went beyond its competence, trying to control the Church: “If the princes are going to control the Church according to their will, God will in no way give His blessings . . . we demand that a distinction is made between the authority of the Church and that of the princes, or both authorities will perish”. But in the new Lutheran churches the princes did also interfere in the *cura religionis*. It was the ideas of Erasmus and Melancton that became predominant, according to which the prince was a *pater patriæ* who had a special role in defending and promoting the true faith. It became central to Danish royal ideology from the Reformation. King Christian III for instance often interfered in matters of theology, and in official documents and ceremonies he was presented as the *defensor fidei* and guardian of both tablets of the law (*custos utriusque tabulae*).²³⁰ The Melanctonian ideal of the prince as the *defensor fidei* was also expressed in praises to Christian III both by Melancton personally as well as Danish theologians and historians all through the sixteenth century.²³¹ Christian III made it perfectly clear to the clergy in Skåne in July 1538 that he was to be head of the church.²³² And the king was to be the “defender of the faith” as the coronation charters ruled after the Reformation.²³³

²³⁰ Lausten 1987a, pp. 13–16 and *passim*.

²³¹ Skovgaard-Petersen 1997.

²³² *Danske Kirkelove*, 1:16–17.

²³³ *Danske Kongers Haandfæstninger*, pp. 83 (Christian III), 95–96 (Frederik II) [= *Danske Kirkelove*, 2:44], 103 (Christian IV).

The question of war on behalf of the evangelical faith first became of central importance in the Protestant princes' arguments for resisting the emperor. Thorkild Lyby identifies a shift in attitudes around 1529 when the Protestant princes stated that they would be obedient and loyal to the emperor except when he attacked them because of their evangelical confession to God. Luther officially opposed this interpretation, but in his treatise *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen*, written in 1531, although still voicing some reservations he left it to the Protestant princes and their jurists to decide whether it was licit to resist the emperor.²³⁴ The result was obviously, however, to be understood as an acceptance: "Furthermore, should it come to war—which God forbid—I will not have rebuked as rebellious those who offer armed resistance to the murderous and bloodthirsty papists".²³⁵ It was certainly used in this way, according to Mark Edwards: "First, to strengthen the Protestant resolve to resist, and, second, to quiet the consciences of any who might worry whether resistance to the emperor in defence of religion would be a violation of God's ordinance".²³⁶ From the late 1530s, the theologians more explicitly began to accept the idea of armed resistance to the emperor on behalf of the evangelical faith.²³⁷

With the Turks it was different. According to the works of Johann Brentz and Justus Jonas treated in this chapter, which in all respects can be argued to be preaching manuals for the war against the Turks in accordance with Luther's theology, the Turks could be resisted not only because they attacked first for no reason and with no legal right, but simply because they were Turks and possessed the "Alcorani". According to Jonas, the Bible stated that there was a difference between Turkey and other states—they had no legal rights and no peace.²³⁸ According to Brentz, natural law did not apply to the Turks because they were murderers and they had been ordered by "Mahomet" to attack and subject other countries. The Turk was the enemy of the realm of God and their religion and system of government were to be equalled to murder.²³⁹ Both Jonas and Brentz identified the Turks with

²³⁴ Martin Luther, *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen*. Cf. Edwards 1983, pp. 24–25.

²³⁵ Martin Luther, *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen*, p. 282. I quote Edward's translation in Edwards 1983, p. 26.

²³⁶ Edwards 1983, p. 25.

²³⁷ Lyby 1993, pp. 231 ff. 366 ff., esp. at pp. 242–58, 307–8, 366–74. Cf. Edwards 1983, pp. 20–37.

²³⁸ Jonas, *Das Sibenden Capitel Danielis*, fol. Ei ff., Giv'.

²³⁹ Brentz, *Türcken Büchlein*, fols. Avi–Bii.

the “little mouth that spoke terrible things”, according to the Book of Daniel, because of their faith, which proved that they and their lordship originated with the Devil. Naturally, they were not included in the fifth commandment: Thou shall not kill.²⁴⁰ This view was later sanctioned by Melanchton, who made it clear that since the Turks are manifestly blasphemous, they were not to be counted among the *Imperia* created by God for the sake of laws and discipline.²⁴¹ It provided a legal argument for fighting even an offensive war against the Turks, but based on religious grounds, and the argument had, of course, been used all through the Middle Ages.

With the Reformation, the crusade indulgence disappeared. The war on the enemies of Christendom was placed in the hand of the king. From that perspective, the wars were no longer crusades. But the king was to be head of the church and defender of the faith and the soldiers that served him as true Christians and devout subjects would become martyrs if they fell in battle having entered the war with the right intentions. It almost resembles a secularisation of the crusade indulgence. Did Luther return to the “Voraussetzungen des Kreuzzugsgedankens”, as Rudolf Mau asked? Even to pose the question would probably have made Luther “throw around words for excrement with great abundance”, which he often did.²⁴² And it would probably not be entirely correct either. Luther’s “plenary indulgence” to the soldiers who fell in battle against the Turks was not granted because the *actions* or works would earn the soldiers spiritual merit. It was based on the notion that the soldiers were taking part in the final battle between good and evil, according to the Revelation of Daniel. The church, however, was to instruct the soldiers to fight with the right intentions and to wage spiritual warfare against the Turks as it had done all through the Middle Ages. It was not to have an active role on the battlefield—that was left entirely to the secular authorities that nevertheless fought God’s battles. The church, however, was to take part in the spiritual battle against the forces of evil through prayers and divine service, which included instructing the laity to fight on this battleground as well. There

²⁴⁰ Jonas, *Das Sibenden Capitel Danielis*, fol. Biii; Brentz, *Türcken Büchlein*, fols. Bi–ii, Biv–Cii. One of the more radical Gregorians of the late eleventh century, Manegold of Lautenbach, interestingly reached the exact same conclusion concerning the enemies of the church in his *Ad Gebehardum liber*, at pp. 376–77.

²⁴¹ Quoted from Skovgaard-Petersen 1997, p. 134 n. 38. See also his instructions for preaching against the Turks mentioned above. Cf. Heath 1986, pp. 25–43.

²⁴² Edwards 1983, p. 4.

is no reason to assume that the church would have been less careful in performing this duty than in Catholic times.

Perhaps Luther was asking a lot of both princes and soldiers if he expected everybody to fully comprehend the niceties of the distinction. The result would be the same: If you fell in battle, you would become blessed. But as Luther's "plenary indulgence" was granted not by the authority of the pope but through service to one's secular lord, it is probably not justified to argue that Luther returned to the "preconditions of the crusade". Rather it seems as if Luther gave the *cruciata* of his own day a new "brand" that fitted the ideology of growing Lutheran princely churches perfectly. It suggests that the focus on the crusade indulgence and papal leadership in war when arguing that there were no crusades after the Reformation, no doubt means that we miss a number of other ways the crusade and the crusade ideology continued to have an influence. The final chapter of this book will point to a number of such areas.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROTESTANT CRUSADES?

Christian III had a close and personal relationship with Luther and other Wittenberg reformers. When he introduced the Reformation, first in his fief of Haderslev in 1526 and second in Denmark, he made sure that it followed closely the Reformation in Wittenberg and even asked Luther personally to comment on his reforming programmes.¹ Undoubtedly, Luther's idea concerning war with the Turks had a tremendous impact on how Christian III considered warfare against the Turks, as will become apparent. He viewed his princely ideology, however, within the framework of the Erasmian and Melanctonian reformatory ideas that formed the basis for the religious and dynastic power of the Protestant German territorial princes. It was an office ordained by God and the princes were the officials and vassals of God.² This ideology was displayed at the crowning ceremony of Christian III in 1537. It was conducted by one of the Wittenberg theologians, Johann Bugenhagen (1485–1558), who interpreted the different stages during the five hour long ceremony.³ When he handed over the sword he stated that Christian III should be in no doubt that he received it from God and he could use it against His enemies like Gideon and David.⁴ At the end of the ceremony after a fanfare and the singing of a hymn, Christian III read the Gospel of the day with the drawn sword in one hand. He explained that the sword had not been weakened but strengthened by the Gospel, and he promised to serve the sword and the Gospel to the best of his ability. Would he do it against the Turks? Or against the Catholics? It will be the purpose of this chapter to see

¹ Lausten 2002, pp. 88–101, 125–97; Lausten 1987a. Cf. Lausten 1983.

² Petersen 1973; Lausten 1977, pp. 329–30.

³ Hassø 1936–38; Hoffmann 1983, pp. 57–68; Lausten 1987a, pp. 27–31; Lausten 1987c, pp. 111–13. Bugenhagen was priest in Wittenberg, superintendent in Kursachsen, professor in theology at the University of Wittenberg, and a close friend of Luther. A contemporary source reports that Luther was to have performed the crowning, but as he was prevented from coming to Denmark, Bugenhagen was sent in his stead, Lausten 1977, p. 333 n. 42 (cf. also Lausten 1987a, p. 29 n. 9). Bugenhagen and Christian III developed a very confidential and friendly relationship, cf. Lausten 2002, pp. 150–51.

⁴ Hassø 1936–38, pp. 339–42.

how a number of different aspects of the medieval crusade both directly and in the new Lutheran garb continued to be important at all levels of Danish society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by presenting a broad spectrum of sources like the works of theologians, royal ideology, liturgical instructions, travel accounts, eulogies, crusade literature etc. First the question of how the war against the Turks during and after the Reformation was perceived in Denmark will be addressed, followed by an analysis of how Luther's thoughts were spread in Denmark by a concerted effort of church and king.

Christian III and War against the Turks

There can be no doubt that information on the Turkish advances reached Denmark as soon as they reached Germany. The many *Türkenbüchlein* reporting on the war and especially the atrocities of the Turks published in German would have been readily available in Denmark, and letters reporting on the war against the Turks kept the authorities well informed.⁵ The chronicle of Reimar Koch written around the middle of the sixteenth century bears witness to the stream of information concerning the Turkish advances and the concern with which they were viewed in Northern Germany, as had indeed been the case all through the Middle Ages.⁶ The situation in Denmark was no different, as can be glimpsed from the scattered Danish chronicle material from the period.⁷ Another example is the widely read German *Weltchronik* written by the court astronomer at the Electoral court in Brandenburg, Johann Carion (1499–1537), which contained information on the history of the crusades as well as relating in detail the war against the Turks from the time of the Emperor Sigismund until its first publication in 1532. It was later reworked by Philip Melanchton and Melanchton's son-in-law Caspar Peucer with an even more outspoken Protestant

⁵ Philip Melanchton for instance often sent news of events in Europe including the Turks in his letters to Christian III, cf. the letters printed in *Gelehrter Männer Briefe*, 2:1–98. For the *Türkenbüchlein*, cf. Bohnstedt 1968; Göllner 1961–78.

⁶ Reimar's chronicle has never been edited in full, cf. Bruns 1955. For the German chronicles in the fifteenth century and the Turks, cf. Vogtherr 1997.

⁷ Cf. for instance *Roskilde-Aarbogen 1448–1549* [*The Roskilde Annals*]; Magnus Madsen, *Regum Danie Series*, pp. 157–58, 196, 204; *Monumenta Historie Danicæ*, 1/1:287, 383, 702, 2/2:484, 586. In his eulogy over Frederik II, Anders Sørensen Vedel inserted a "Chronologia" at the end relating Danish, world, and church history during Frederik II's reign. The main events involving the Turks are described.

agenda and published in Latin in 1572. In this work, the pope was blamed for causing the loss of the Holy Land, and the Turkish advances were considered God's punishment for the heresy of the pope.⁸ Both editions appeared in Danish translations in 1554 and 1595.⁹ A versified Latin version appeared in 1596 and 1601.¹⁰ Carion's chronicle and the Melanchtonian view of history that it expressed became widespread in Denmark and deeply influenced the authors of Danish national history like Hans Svaning and Anders Sørensen Vedel in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹¹

The Protestants undoubtedly tried to take advantage of the Turkish advances to gain confessional concessions. In December 1529, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse wrote to Martin Luther that "since necessity demands that his Majesty [Charles V] and his Majesty's brother [Ferdinand of Austria] and others shall ask for help against the Turks from all, especially from us, the estates, who are not the least but the greatest and chief source of help—therefore it is our idea that, if we all agreed not to render any aid unless his Majesty were first to promise that we would be left in peace and not disturbed because of the gospel..., our resolution would under such circumstances have its effect upon his Majesty, and we trust God that in this way our course could be maintained and much trouble avoided".¹² In fact, the Turkish attacks lead to a number of important concessions to the Protestants between 1526 and 1555—when the religious peace was settled in Augsburg—although the Protestant princes never made an alliance with the Turks as the French King Francis I did in 1536 against his Habsburg foe, Charles V.¹³ But the Protestants could certainly be presented as being in league with the Turks. In 1547, Charles directly accused the Protestants of having made a conspiracy with the Turks—"the eternal enemy of our faith and religion".¹⁴ Sultan Suleiman apparently acknowledged that Luther and

⁸ Schmugge 1987, pp. 29–30; Ekrem 1998, pp. 168–70, 173–74.

⁹ Johan Carion, *Chronica* (Wittenberg, 1554), see for instance p. 7^v; Johan Carion, *Chronica* (Copenhagen, 1595), see for instance pp. 167^{r-v}. It should be said that the latter left out Melanchton's description of the coronation of Charles V and his exhortation to fight the Turks. For the Danish editions, see Ekrem 1998, pp. 171–73, 175–78.

¹⁰ Ekrem 1998, pp. 178–86.

¹¹ Skovgaard-Petersen 1998; Skovgaard-Petersen 2004b.

¹² *Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel*, 5:198 (no. 1503). Cf. Luther's reply, *ibid.*, pp. 203–4 (no. 1507).

¹³ Cf. Fischer-Galati 1959; Fischer-Galati 1956; Setton 1962, p. 163. For France and the Turks cf. Göllner 1961–78, 3:102–36; Malettke 2000.

¹⁴ Quoted from Lausten 1977, p. 55.

the division he caused within Christendom helped his military advance against the Christians. He once asked a European embassy to the Porte about Luther, expressing his regret that Luther was already 48 years old. Had he only been younger, Suleiman is supposed to have said, he would have found a gracious lord in the sultan. Martin Luther crossed himself when hearing the story and answered: "Behut mich Gott vor diesem gnedigen herrn!"¹⁵

If Luther considered the papists in league with the Turks, there can be no doubt that the Catholics viewed the Protestants in the same light. They considered Luther a greater evil to Christendom than the Turks, the Turkish attacks as a punishment for the sins and heresy of the Lutherans, and even compared Lutheranism to Islam, thus completely mirroring Luther's view of the papists.¹⁶ Both public propaganda and popular prophecies—the two could be hard to distinguish—saw natural disasters as God's punishment for the heresy of the Lutherans.¹⁷ In connection with a new crusade against the Turks in Hungary, the papal legate Bedrot, who in July 1540 was in Strassbourg, pondered on the question: who were the worst enemies of Christendom: The Turks or the Protestants? He opted for the latter as they were both a physical and spiritual threat whereas the Turks only attacked the body. The French reformer Calvin expressed indignation at the comparison and the choice.¹⁸ But it was for the exact same reasons that Luther considered the pope worse than the Turks.

Paulus Helie and the Lutheran Turks

The Catholic version of the explanation for the attacks of the Turks was voiced in Denmark by the humanist and reform-Catholic Paulus Helie. He had taught many of the theologians who later became Lutherans, and was a very influential person. In 1522, he translated the *Institutio principis Christiani* of Erasmus of Rotterdam into Danish.¹⁹ It lamented, of course, the internal division in Christendom: "What would Turks and Saracens not say of us, when they heard and sensed that there was no peace between Christian kings and lords for so many years and peace is not respected and there is no end to the bloodshed, and even less

¹⁵ *Luthers Werke. Tischreden*, 2:508 (no. 2537a–b).

¹⁶ Setton 1962, pp. 146–47, 157–58.

¹⁷ Cf. Niccoli 1990, esp. p. 134 ff.

¹⁸ Pannier 1937, pp. 274–75.

¹⁹ Paulus Helie, *Erasmus Rotherodamus*. It was dedicated to Christian II.

unrest among heathens than among Christians, who of all—knowing the teachings of Christ—should have the firmest peace”.²⁰ Helie used the Turks as an image both of the many atrocities that befell Europe from the outside and to describe the Lutherans. He wrote in his reply from 1527 to the mayor and leader of the Evangelicals in Malmö (cf. above chapter 1) Hans Mikkelsen that he firmly believed that Anti-christ would come before Christ would return for the last judgement. He would persecute Christians with great force and power. No one, Helie said, came closer to this description than Luther, except perhaps for Nero and the Turks, who worshiped a holy prophet that made a great stir in the holy church eight hundred years ago. Machometus said at that time, Helie continued, that the law and gospel of Jesus Christ was twisted and perverted (“forwanledt och formørckit”) by his holy apostles and evangelists and that he had been sent to correct and improve and eradicate their customs and inventions (“sett oc digt”) from the pure word of God. This he would write down in a certain book called the *Alchoranum*. This book, Helie said, was so alike to its master and prophet that it would take too long to describe. But the bottom line was that Luther—*your* idol and prophet, he said to Hans Mikkelsen—had done the same thing: Although he did not say that all evangelists and apostles were false, he did mention four who he claimed did not preach the pure and true teaching of Jesus Christ.²¹ Paulus Helie thus equated the teaching of Luther with that of Muhammed. He did the same—or at least put him in the same category—in his *Warning against Luther* from 1532:

Since he [Luther] and his followers began to turn peoples against Christian freedom, against lords and princes, mayors and councils and other secular powers with sin and impiety and many un-Christian acts... he revealed that someone other than the spirit of God guided him. He no longer wanted to improve Christianity against sin and misuse, but strove at the Bohemian and Russian mutiny and uproar; and to rise against God—and everything that belongs to God—the ways of Muhammad (“mahometische handell”) that can make us Turks and Mamluks but never a Christian people.²²

The Lutherans were the origin of the Turkish might. The Turks were the enemies of Christendom, and he saw a similarity between the

²⁰ Paulus Helie, *Erasmus Rotherodamus*, p. 155.

²¹ Paulus Helie, *Svar til Hans Mikkelsen*, pp. 23–25.

²² Paulus Helie, *En kort og kristelig Formaning*, pp. 10–11.

Turk's destruction of churches and the Lutherans' rebellion against the church.²³

According to Helie, the Swedish saint Birgitta of Vadstena had predicted many of the recent historical events in her visions: That the kingdom of Cyprus would succumb; that the Turks should overcome the Greeks; that at some point many would fall from the pope and the Christian Church. In the same vision she claimed that the Turk would not have become so powerful had they not fallen from the church. Helie continued addressing the first part of the prophecy: She wrote this eighty years before it happened and eighty more years have passed since this prophecy came true. Many of the prophecies concerning King Christian [II] have also come true, which he would not believe himself when they were put before him. Addressing the second part of the prophecy, Helie commented: She even predicted that many monks and priests would disobey their vows and rules. She said that this happened at the will of God because of our sins and to test his friends. "Is there any among yours or Luther's followers", Helie asked Mikkelsen, "who are able to dream something 150 years before it happens? If there is we would believe that you are indeed prophets and messengers of God".²⁴ The blame for the Turkish advance was thus placed on the heresy of the Lutherans, which had even been predicted by Saint Birgitta. Time had proven her right—it would of course prove the predictions of the Lutherans wrong.

Denmark, Protestantism, and the Crusade

With the Reformation, such voices in Denmark were stifled. It did not of course mean that all threats against the Danish kingdom had been eradicated. Through a marriage to Christian II's daughter Dorothea, the Catholic Elector Friedrich of Pfalz could make a claim on the Danish throne on behalf of the emperor, whose reputation had been severely damaged by the imprisonment of Christian II. In the early months of 1537, Elector Friedrich tried to win the pope for a crusade against Denmark to reintroduce Catholicism. In 1537, however, Christian III made an

²³ Ibid., pp. 12–16, 53, 62.

²⁴ Paulus Helie, *Svar til Hans Mikkelsen*, pp. 41–42. Cf. Paulus Helie, *Svar paa den Bog*, p. 166 where the Turks are called "the obvious enemy of Christ and Christendom". For the use of Birgitta's prophecies by Helie in relation to his other works and contemporary Protestants, cf. K. R. Jørgensen 2001. For the use of Birgitta's revelations in Italy with respect to the spread of Protestantism, Niccoli 1990, esp. pp. 176–77.

agreement with the Schmalkaldic League formed by the Protestant princes, and his opponents realized that the battle for the Danish throne was lost.²⁵ Christian did not, however, as far as we can tell enter the Schmalkaldic League for confessional reasons, but in order to obtain peace with the emperor.²⁶ It was not achieved immediately, but it came to a three-year truce with Charles V in 1537 that was renewed several times.²⁷ The claims of Friedrich were, however, left unresolved. It finally came to a peace with the emperor in 1544, concluded in Speyer,²⁸ which determined the foreign policy of Christian for the rest of his reign. According to Martin Schwarz Lausten, Christian III placed territorial, dynastic, and political goals above confessional considerations.²⁹ He did not come to the aid of his fellow Protestant princes in the Schmalkaldic Wars (1546–47, 1552), when Charles V tried to settle the religious dispute through force of arms,³⁰ because he did not want to break the peace with the emperor. The primary objective of his policy was to achieve peace with foreign powers to serve the faith within his territorial possessions in the best possible way and secure the internal development of his lands, even if this went against confessional interests. On the other hand there can be no doubt of Christian III's personal deep religious evangelical sentiments. Although he officially rejected the idea that the First Schmalkaldic War was a war of religion, he knew—as did everybody else—that it was indeed that and he was very troubled by the attacks on the true religion.³¹ He therefore concentrated his efforts where they mattered most: On the spiritual warfare. In the summer of 1546, he ordered three extraordinary prayer-days, because he knew that the archenemy of Christendom, the pope and his followers, planned to attack in Germany and in other places where the pure and clear word of God was preached and to exterminate it with “sword and bloodshed”.³²

²⁵ Lausten 1995, pp. 402–24.

²⁶ Bregnsbo 2002, esp. p. 663.

²⁷ *Danmark-Norges Traktater*, 1:258–68, 276–84, 291–307, 327–41.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 450–73.

²⁹ Lausten 1977; Lausten 1987a.

³⁰ Cf. Tracy 2002, pp. 204–48. Charles had made a truce with the Turks in 1545 to be able to deal properly with the Protestants that was renewed for another five years in 1547, cf. Petritsch 2002, pp. 680–82; Setton 1976–84, 3:482–504 for the Turkish question at the time.

³¹ Lausten 1977, p. 43 ff. esp. pp. 50–53.

³² Rørdam 1864–66, pp. 33–34; *Danske Kirkelove*, 1:244. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 317, 382–83, 420.

Christian III did not become directly involved in the war against the Turks, although, as we shall see, he took it very seriously. He was, however, opposed to the idea of not paying the subsidies for the war against the Turks that the emperor asked of the Protestant Estates, to get confessional concessions. The city of Hamburg threatened in 1548 not to pay the agreed taxes for the war against the Turks if they were forced to introduce the Augsburg Interim of that year in the wake of the emperor's military successes. This Christian III rejected on the grounds that it would only increase the emperor's animosity towards the city, and that Hamburg "in solchen prophanen sachen" should obey the emperor like all other estates of the realm.³³

Although a settlement had been reached concerning the religious question at the *Reichstag* of Augsburg in 1555, it was also the main issue alongside the war against the Turks at the *Reichstag* of Regensburg in 1556/57. The Turks had launched new attacks from 1555.³⁴ A letter from the sultan to the emperor declaring war together with a warning to all Christians circulated as a news-sheet in Danish.³⁵ The Protestant estates wanted to be exempted from debating the issue of religion—*Freistellung*—and made their support for the war against the Turks contingent on this matter. In the end the estates granted their support, but King Ferdinand, who was appointed by Charles V to lead the negotiations on his behalf, refused to accept the *Freistellungs*-demand. Christian III was particularly concerned about the Turks and argued against making the *Freistellungs*-demand part of the issue. He wrote of the Turks as the "archenemies of our Christian faith and name" and considered them too great a danger to risk not fighting them. On the other hand he believed that it would be wise of Ferdinand if he gave in on the *Freistellungs*-demand, because an agreement concerning the support for the war against the Turks would then be reached much sooner.³⁶

Melanchton, who wrote to the king directly as well as to his court-preacher Johan Bugenhagen, was keeping Christian III informed on the progress and battles of the two armies that Ferdinand had put into the field against the Turks in 1555 until 1557 when "the tyrannical Turk

³³ Quoted from Lausten 1977, pp. 116–18.

³⁴ Setton 1976–84, 4:616 ff.; Göllner 1961–78, 3:140.

³⁵ A copy of the Danish version is found in KB: GkS 844 2°, fols. 160–62. Cf. Göllner 1961–78, 2:47 for a Dutch version. It was reprinted in Copenhagen in 1594.

³⁶ Lausten 1977, pp. 160–66.

had returned to Constantinople for certain".³⁷ Christian III no doubt was as concerned with the Turkish threat as Luther and Melancthon were. If he did not involve himself physically in the war against them, he launched a series of spiritual attacks and campaigns against the Turks along the lines set out by Luther. This should not be taken lightly as both were convinced that this was the battleground where the real war took place and where victory was a necessary prerequisite for defeating the corporeal Turks.

Spiritual Warfare against the Turks

When disasters struck either in the form of epidemics, natural disasters, war, or the Turks, it was believed to be God's punishments for sin. To counter such punishments, the people were called on to repent their sins and do penance. Both the explanation and the remedy had of course been the same all through the Middle Ages, only now penance—or "pönitense"—was understood in a new way. In the new ordinance for the reformed Danish church (*Kirkeordinansen*) published in June 1539, penance was described in the following way: Our Lord Jesus Christ made two sacraments, baptism and the Eucharist... To these is added a third that is called Penance: "That is penance and improvement, when a sinner confesses his sins, regrets his mistake and sin, and receives commutation through he Gospel and returns to the pact he had made with God in baptism".³⁸ There was no true faith without penance and vice versa.³⁹ The only way to prevent the wrath of God was by penance, or if disaster had already struck, penance was the only way to return to the grace of God—as it had indeed been all through the Middle Ages—but no longer through performing good works. Various liturgical measures, however, could be put to use to help achieve this as in Catholic times.

The Danish kings used the special liturgical prayers (*kirkebøn*) and designated "prayer-days" called *bededage* to beg for divine assistance and to promote and explain royal policy. The former were said during the

³⁷ *Dänische Bibliothec*, 1 (1738), 56–57, at p. 57; *Phil. Melancthonis Neun Briefe*, pp. 167–69, 171–72, 174–75. Cf. Setton 1976–84, 4:616–720.

³⁸ *Danske Kirkelove*, 1:51; *Kirkeordinansen*, pp. 100, 160: "bod oc bedring, naar een syndere bekiender seg sielff oc fortryder sin wildfarelse oc synd, Oc tager saa affløsning formidels Euangelium, Oc kommer igen til den pact, hand haffuer giort med Gud i Doben". Towards the end of the century, Anders Sørensen Vedel described penance as to "lament and repent our sins and turn to God", Anders Sørensen Vedel, *En sørgelig Lighpredicken*, p. Hii'.

³⁹ *Danske Kirkelove*, 1:62.

ordinary services on the Sabbath and their contents was determined by the king and the episcopacy to address specific issues or ask God's blessing for named individuals. The latter were supplemental services originating in the Catholic *dies rogationum* held several times a year, but from 1536 recommended to be performed regularly in part as a substitute for processions. To these prayers were added the extraordinary *bededage* that were decreed at irregular intervals to address specific issues or commemorate specific events. They were often celebrated during three consecutive days and all subjects and residents were expected to attend under threat of various punishments. It was the king who made the call for these extraordinary *bededage* and announced the reason for imposing the additional public penance, leaving it to the episcopate to designate the exact days, select the appropriate passages from Scripture, and occasionally write complete prayers and sermons for all the clergy to use.⁴⁰

Christian III no doubt shared the view of Luther of the Turks as the infidel scourge of God. In his letters to the close family and the theologians of Wittenberg, Christian III often stressed that God punished the Christians for our sins. We are tormented by false teachers, diseases, and the Turks for our sins and ingratitude towards God, he often lamented.⁴¹ We have already seen how he used prayer-days against the Catholic armies in 1546. Similar prayer-days were ordered in 1551, 1554, and 1555.⁴² From the 1560s it became customary to publish written instructions in Latin describing the contents of the sermons, which meant that almost identical sermons would be held throughout the realm.⁴³ That he used liturgical measures to fight the Turks can come as no surprise. The main architect of the Danish anti-Turkish liturgy during the reign of Christian III was the highly influential reformer and superintendent of Sjælland, Peder Palladius, who studied in Wittenberg together with numerous other Danes.⁴⁴ He personally performed visitations in all of the

⁴⁰ For an English introduction to the prayer-days I have relied on Lockhart 2004, pp. 71–73. For the prayer-days during the reign of Christian III, cf. Lausten 1987a, pp. 30–33; Lausten 1987b, pp. 187–200. Cf. for “penitense” also Olden-Jørgensen 2006, pp. 100–6.

⁴¹ *Samling af Kong Christian Den Tredies Breve*, p. 272; Lausten 1975, pp. 171, 173; Lausten 1987a, p. 33.

⁴² *Danske Kirkelove*, 1:317, 382–83, 420. Cf. *Diplomatarium Vibergense*, pp. 300–1 (no. 381) for instructions in 1555 to Peder Palladius to order all superintendents all over the country to perform three prayer days “like last year” due to the war in Germany.

⁴³ Cf. *Bibliotheca Danica*, 1:568–90.

⁴⁴ Lausten 1987b; Lausten 2002, pp. 103–24.

churches on Sjælland and had a tremendous influence in bringing the new faith to the populace. His writings and instructions concerning the Turks are therefore very important sources for the image of the Turk and the war against him in Denmark.

Peder Palladius and the Turks

In Denmark, Luther's view of the pope and the Turk as two sides of the same evil became widely disseminated, especially through the works of Peder Palladius. In 1540, he translated Luther's *A simple way of preaching*.⁴⁵ The first prayer asked God that He would allow his holy word and Gospel to be spread to the world and that he would defeat and destroy the horrendous idolatries, sects, and heresies that were disseminated by both the pope and the Turk through all kinds of false Apostles.⁴⁶ Palladius apparently followed Luther's instructions that knowledge of Islam was important to be able to prepare those who should fight the Turks, or were taken prisoner by them, of the infidelity of its teachings. In his book *Sankt Peders Skib* [*The Ship of Saint Peter*], he gave a short introduction to the history of Islam only to prove how similar the religion of the pope and the Turk was. The work was written in Danish in 1554 as one of two larger works in Danish intended for a broader audience. The purpose of the work in question was to show how the Roman Church had corrupted Christianity and how the holy church had been saved from doom by the Evangelical-Lutheran Reformation. It was a history of the Church from its beginning to the present, allegorically described as a journey by ship.⁴⁷ Mahomet, Palladius says, is the brother and good friend of the pope. The papacy was twenty years older than the delusion of Mahomet, because Mahomet lived in the time of the Emperor Heraclius. Islam and Catholicism

⁴⁵ Peder Palladius, *En ret enfoldig Bedebog. Oversat efter Luther*. The translation was based on two of the German editions of *Ein einfeltige Weise zu beten* from 1536 and 1539 as well as the Latin original published in Wittenberg 1537. It is not to be confused with Luther's *Prayerbook* that was translated into Danish in 1526 and 1531 by Paulus Helie and Christiern Pedersen respectively, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 243–45.

⁴⁶ Peder Palladius, *En ret enfoldig Bedebog*, p. 263: "du vilt lade dit hellige ord oc Evangelium/predickes ud/offuer den ganske verden/Sla ned oc læg øde/i grund de gruelige Affguderij/seckter/oc ketteri/som baade Tørcken oc Paffuen/met alle falske Apostle/vildfarende aander oc Suermer indført haffue/blant dit Folck/oc saa skalkelige føre/oc skendelige misbruge dit hellige naffn/dem selff/oc andre/some de bedrage till/en gruelig formaedielse/oc fordømmelse".

⁴⁷ Peder Palladius, *Sankt Peders Skib*. He was influenced by the Melancthonian view of history like so many other Danish historians, Skovgaard-Petersen 1998 and 2004b.

are then compared for the people to see that they are two very similar religions.⁴⁸ The texts Luther used as basis for his knowledge of Islam would, of course, have been at hand for Danish students in Wittenberg and elsewhere. Another easy source of information of the history of Islam was the widely read *Weltchronik* by Johann Carion, but of course it was based on knowledge known through the Middle Ages, for instance in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, which also recorded that Islam arose in Heraclius' time.⁴⁹

In the 1554 Danish translation of Carion's chronicle Luther's and Melanchton's interpretation of Daniel was given a wider audience: "as Daniel bears witness to, the end of the world is near when the realm of the Turks is beginning to crumble" and the division within Christendom was a sign of the same.⁵⁰ In Carion's chronicle, related material for preaching against the Turks was provided. When describing the fall of Constantinople, Turkish atrocities were underlined: They put up a cross and covered it with excrement and dirt and mocked it, and they killed women. "This and other examples of how the Turks daily behave against the Christians should admonish and encourage us to take serious action against such cruel tyrants and beasts and apparent enemies and defilers of God". In the second edition, the paragraph ends with an instruction to "say devout prayers to God".⁵¹ Both of the instructions for preaching and inciting to war against the Turks by Johann Brentz and Justus Jonas also provided examples of Turkish atrocities at the fall of Constantinople.⁵² When Palladius in *Sankt Peders Skib* wrote of the destruction of Jerusalem and the exodus, he described the many atrocities the Israelites suffered at the hands of the heathens just like what "we today hear is done by the Turks".⁵³ It provided a further example to preach against the Turks, which was indeed singled out to be used in this fashion in the preaching manual of Justus Jonas, who

⁴⁸ Peder Palladius, *Sankt Peders Skib*, pp. 105–6. Luther had of course compared the two, and there is an echo in Palladius of Luther's comparison of the Koran and the summae, decretals etc. of the pope. Cf. also Spieker 1858, pp. 203–5 for Andreas Musculus' (see below) similar ideas.

⁴⁹ For Carion's chronicle cf. above pp. 268–69. For knowledge of Islam in the Middle Ages, cf. Daniel 1966.

⁵⁰ Johan Carion, *Chronica* (Wittenberg, 1554), p. 259^v.

⁵¹ Johan Carion, *Chronica* (Wittenberg, 1554), pp. 243^v–244^r; Johan Carion, *Chronica* (Copenhagen, 1595), p. 184^v.

⁵² Cf. above chapter 3.

⁵³ Peder Palladius, *Sankt Peders Skib*, pp. 42, 104.

had close and good relations with Denmark and Christian III.⁵⁴ The destruction of Jerusalem could be and was used as propaganda for the war against the Turks. It was translated into Danish by Peter Tideman and published as a book in 1539, 1581 and 1617.⁵⁵

Palladius further used the example of the Israelites in a series of sermons given during the spring and summer of 1554, which were published in 1555. The subjects were to take the Israelites and Jewish peoples as examples, he preached. When they feared and followed God, they were successful. But when they turned away from God they were thrown into the Babylonian captivity. One only needed to look at the present situation in Europe to be reminded that the same thing happened today.⁵⁶ In his *Vom Kriege wider die Türken*, Luther also likened the present situation with the Turk to the history of the Israelites. When the princes today gathered under the banner of the emperor, Luther hoped that his call to war against the Turk did not come too late so the same thing would happen to us that happened to the Israelites. At first they would not fight the Amorites when God commanded it, and when they finally went to battle they were defeated because God did not want to side with them (Deut. 7:1 ff.).⁵⁷

Luther's and Melanchton's apocalyptic interpretation of the Turks as Antichrist and the heralds of the immanent end of the world, which according to the prophesies of Johann Hilten was going to take place in the year 1600, also became widespread in Denmark. The many Danish students living in Wittenberg must have known Hilten's predictions because of the great interest both Luther and Melanchton showed in them. Palladius mentioned them on several occasions in his writings and he feared that they were about to be fulfilled.⁵⁸ In 1558, in a work that was published in Wittenberg and dedicated to the eldest son of Christian III, the later Frederik II, Palladius singled out Hilten as one of the few persons that in Catholic times tried to help and forward the true church.⁵⁹ In his translation of the work *Hosedjæveln* by Andreas Musculus (1514–1581)—a Lutheran prophet of doom, who was convinced

⁵⁴ Justus Jonas, *Das Siebenden Capitel Danielis*, fol. Gii. Cf. Lausten 2002, esp. pp. 148–50 for Jonas' relationship with Denmark.

⁵⁵ See L. Nielsen 1996, 1:36; *Bibliotheca Danica*, 1:115.

⁵⁶ Peder Palladius, *Jesu Christi ærefulde Forklarelse paa Thabor Bjerg*, p. 247.

⁵⁷ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, pp. 134–35; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 38.

⁵⁸ Peder Palladius, *Skt. Peders Skib*, pp. 32, 42.

⁵⁹ Lausten 1987b, pp. 242–43.

that the end was near⁶⁰—the prophesies were described in more detail. In the year 1600, the cruellest human shall reign in Europe—the third part of the world to which Denmark belongs, it was underlined—and in 1606 Gog and Magog shall reign. Both prophecies were interpreted as relating to the Turks. It would affect not only our youths and children but even those who have lived to old age. Only prayers could help to either soften or prevent the fulfilment of the prophecy.⁶¹ The prophecies were in fact used by Palladius to call the whole Danish population to penance in face of the Turkish attacks.

It happened when Christian III ordered to perform extraordinary prayer-days that were to be held on 20, 21 and 22 March 1553 due to the wars, deaths, bloodshed, high prices, and other misfortunes, which, of course, were the results of our sins and un-penitential way of life. He asked Palladius to write an instruction for the preachers that should be used in all churches. The purpose was to have all superintendents and priests of the kingdom to exhort their congregations to true penance and to prayers to God asking for forgiveness in order that the people of Denmark might be allowed to hold on to the Word and live in peace. Christian III's letter is not preserved but its contents is known through the instruction to perform the prayer-days in Schleswig.⁶² The instruction written by Palladius was also to be used there. From the pulpits, people were admonished to come to the churches on all three days. As on earlier occasions, fasting was one of the remedies. Then people could better focus on prayer and penitence, because over-indulgence in eating prevented true worship. Duke Hans explained this point further in his letter to the deacons in Schleswig. Fasting was not to be understood in any Catholic sense, that you earned merit through the fast in itself, but because it made people focus more on the penitence and prayer.⁶³

Palladius' instruction stated that he had written it at the command of the king.⁶⁴ Palladius chose a text at the king's order after having consulted his colleagues at the university. He then according to the

⁶⁰ See for instance his work Andreas Musculus, *Vom jüngsten Tag*. Cf. Spieker 1858; Barnes 1988, pp. 65, 67–68, 86, 118.

⁶¹ Peder Palladius, *Om Hosedjæveln*, pp. 51–53.

⁶² *Diplomatarium Flensborgense*, 2:551–52 (no. 612); Rørdam 1874–77, pp. 86–88; Lausten 1987b, pp. 194–95.

⁶³ Rørdam 1874–77, pp. 86–88.

⁶⁴ *Gelehrter Männer Briefe*, 3:135–52.

same order made an interpretation and commentary on it and sent it to the other superintendents for the sake of conformity. The text chosen was Deut. 32 that explained that it was the will of God that his people should live in perpetual penance. If the contents of this text was adapted to the present day situation, Palladius believed, it could be used to make people do penance. He then gave a short interpretation of the texts that should be used—mostly for the sake of the parish priests who might be in need of this, he wrote. First, he interpreted the contents with numerous quotations from both the Old and New Testament. Then he asked how this might have relevance for us today. Parallels should be made to Israel: Just as the Jews were ungrateful of God, so are we today. Even in the bright evangelical light many still cling to the old “papistic” practises. On the third day the theme of the sermons should be God’s punishments of the Jews. In this connection Palladius mentioned the prophecy of Hilten: “He had prophesied the fall of the papacy and we now witness this”. He had also foretold that all of Europe would become suppressed by the Turks, and “today we see many signs of this happening unless we try and prevent it through the use of prayer and penitence”. Even in this country, Palladius then explained, we would come to live under the customs and idolatry of the Turks. They were not here yet, but they had reached our neighbours in Germany. “What sad perspectives for our youths!” Palladius exclaimed, showing the same concern for the younger generation in relation to the Turks as Luther did. But in the meantime, Palladius wrote, we can be sure that Denmark would be struck by other of God’s punishments like hunger, plague, and wars, which we now witnessed happened to the Germans. Only if we did penance, might there be a hope that God would not turn his anger upon us, from which he has so far spared Denmark. We should live a holy life in order for God to have mercy upon us.⁶⁵

Palladius most likely did not send this instruction directly to his colleagues, but sent the material to the king personally for approval, which is apparent from the chancellery mark on the letter.⁶⁶ It was the official ideology of both church and king that in this way was to be preached in every parish church in Denmark. With this instruction, the war against the Turks was made the personal obligation of every person from the

⁶⁵ *Gelehrter Männer Briefe*, 3:148–49.

⁶⁶ Cf. Lausten 1987b, p. 196 n. 8.

pulpits all over the country in the 1550s, just as the crusade had been all through the Middle Ages. It was made personal by the claim that Denmark was actually in immanent danger of being subjugated to the Turks because of the sins of the population. It was the future and salvation of future generations, which was at stake. But through prayers and penance, people could help prevent this from coming true. It is interesting to note how close this instruction was to the instructions put forth by Luther in his *Vom Kriege wider die Türken*.⁶⁷ The atrocities and cruel behaviour of the Turks were naturally also widely diffused, not least through the *Türkenbüchlein*—small newspapers and newssheets that told of the war against the Turks—where wood-cuts illustrated the blood-dripping accounts of how the Turks spiked the Christians and rode around with new born babies on their spears. [Cf. fig. 14] Luther himself used these descriptions in his *Heerpredigt*.

As in the fifteenth century, refugees probably also advocated the war against the Turks. Melanchton for instance wrote a letter of recommendation to Christian III in June 1557 for a certain Jacobus Basilicus, “a learned man, honest, and skilled in martial arts, who had been born from noble parents in Greece”. His father and mother and brothers had been killed by “Selimo, Turcico Tyranno”. As a boy, he had been brought to Crete, and later he moved to France hoping to gain the support of the French king to win back his paternal heritage. He moved to Germany and got acquainted with Melanchton’s teachings. Then he fought in Belgium on the side of the imperial forces and distinguished himself and received an honourable testimony from the emperor. He still, however, wished to go back to his fatherland because the Patriarch of Constantinople worked to get the Turkish Emperor to give him back his heritage: “But moved by the great fame of the much talked about virtue of the Danish king, he wanted to attend the Danish court”.⁶⁸ The propaganda value would have been as appreciated in the sixteenth as in the fifteenth century. Despite having fired the entire spiritual armoury, Christian III stayed out of actual war on behalf of the faith both against Catholics and against the Turks. Things would change under the two succeeding kings.

⁶⁷ Martin Luther, *Vom Kriege*, p. 118 f.; Martin Luther, *Om krigen*, p. 23. Cf. above.

⁶⁸ *Phil. Melanchtonis Neun Briefe*, pp. 169–71 (no. 3).

Protestantism and Religious War, 1559–1648

During the reigns of Frederik II (1559–1588) and Christian IV (1588–1648) the spiritual battle continued both against Catholics, Swedes, and the Turks. Frederik II's first deed as king was to conduct a successful campaign in 1559 against Ditmarschen during which he often fought in the first ranks.⁶⁹ From 1563 to 1570, he was engaged in a hard fought war with Sweden, which proved that Denmark still had supremacy in the Baltic Sea but was no longer strong enough to force Sweden into subjugation. Emperor Maximilian was very interested in peace in the North to secure peace within the empire in order to withstand the Turks, which played a political role both during the war and during the final peace negotiations in 1570, when he was trying to create the Holy League that ended up defeating the Turks in the naval battle at Lepanto in 1571.⁷⁰ On the home front, Frederik II was also concerned not to allow the Turks any foothold. In September 1569, he issued 25 articles of faith that all foreigners who wanted to take up residence within his realm had to confess publicly. The first point touched upon the word of God, but in the second article concerning the Christian Church, the foreigners had to confess that they believed that the "Mohammedan sects" (Mahometiske Sekter) were completely separated from and different from the Church and its congregation, and that they were subjected the Devil as were other sects that did not accept the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.⁷¹ In 1569, the theologian of international fame, Niels Hemmingsen, published his *Ennerratio psalmi LXXXIV*, the purpose of which is explicitly stated in the title of the English translation from 1581: "The Faith of the Church Militant... A treatise written as to the instruction in the groundes of Religion, so to the confutation of the Jews, the Turkes, Atheists, Papists, Heretiks and all other aduersaries of the trueth what-soeuer".⁷² The first official hymn-book in the Danish language, which was published in 1569 by

⁶⁹ This was argued as a just war rather than as a religious war simply because Ditmarschen belonged rightfully to the Danish crown from 1474, see for instance Johan Rantzau, *Warhafftige und kurtze Verzeychnisz*; Johannes Lauterbach, *De Rebus Gestis serenissimi Principis ac D. D. Fredrici Secundi*, pp. 10, 62–63. Cf. the plates published by Hogenbergius in 1589 depicting the battles with the king fighting in the thick of the action, Hogenbergius, *Res geste*, pl. 3–5.

⁷⁰ F. P. Jensen 1982, pp. 172, 328.

⁷¹ *Danske Kirkelove*, 2:126–34, at p. 129.

⁷² Rosenkilde & Ballhausen 1987, p. 89.

Hans Thomesen and that by order of Frederik II, was to be used in the whole country and contained several hymns reporting on the many obvious signs that the end of the world was immanent.⁷³ For instance, the hymn called “Wake up, wake up, Christendom” reported that “the Turk attacks with murder and fire, and so does the pope, killing the confessors of God wherever he can, spilling their blood because they did not want to bow down to the Babylonian whore, and call her their lord”. These were the signs given by Christ in Matt. 24, according to the composer, that the end was near.⁷⁴

Frederik took a serious interest in the wars of religion against the Catholic powers.⁷⁵ In the spring of 1578, for instance, he recommended several young Danish nobles to serve in William of Orange’s armies in the Netherlands against the imperial forces, and even allowed one of his mercenary captains to bring a full cavalry force to the rebel army. From 1583, he joined a Protestant alliance that meant that he should intervene militarily against the Catholics.⁷⁶ This was a break with his father’s policy, which had favoured the preservation of the Lutheran faith and well-being of his own subjects above the general course of Protestantism. Christian III had also still talked of Christendom as meaning both Protestants and Catholics. Frederik II clearly used the term Christendom to denote Protestantism alone, despite the internal divisions especially between Lutherans and Calvinists. In 1586, for instance, he wrote of “the Roman Antichrist, our declared enemy and that of all Christians, has endeavoured so fiercely, seeking all ways and means, that he might strengthen his godless empire, so that he can suppress and extirpate all Christians and all those who would reject his doctrines”.⁷⁷

His acceptance of a Protestant war of religion was part of a general trend of the time. In England Francis Bacon wrote in the aftermath of the Spanish Armada that Spain had wanted to subject England in order “That they would plant the Popes Law by Armes as the Ottomans doe the Law of Mahomet”.⁷⁸ It made him accept an idea of a pre-emptive,

⁷³ Hans Thomesen, *Den danske Psalmebog*, p. 350 ff.; *Danske K rkelove*, 2:135–137.

⁷⁴ Hans Thomesen, *Den danske Psalmebog*, p. 352^r.

⁷⁵ Cf. in general Lockhart 2004.

⁷⁶ Lockhart 2004, p. 202 ff.

⁷⁷ Quoted from Lockhart 2004, pp. 252–53. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 271–72.

⁷⁸ Quoted from Cunningham & Grell 2000, p. 147. Cf. Tyerman 1988, pp. 367–70.

offensive war for the sake of religion.⁷⁹ This idea had become widespread in England through the translation into English of a sermon called *Of War* in the work *Decades* written by Heinrich Bullinger, who was the successor of the Swiss reformer Zwingli in Basel.⁸⁰ Bullinger believed that those who claimed that no wars could be undertaken for the sake of religion were mistaken. They could be undertaken defensively to assist co-religionists and offensively to “defend the Church in danger to be drawn by any barbarous prince from true religion unto false idolatry”.⁸¹ The Turks were singled out as the obvious example, but when discussing the persecutions of Christians through time from the time of Nero until those of the Saracens, Turks, and Tartars, “the butcherly bishops of Rome” were added to the list.⁸² In 1586, the archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, decreed that every learned minister in England should possess a copy of the Bible and Bullinger’s *Decades*.⁸³ During the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the militant and eschatological Calvinism became more and more predominant.⁸⁴ In England it only culminated in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Calvinist crusaders argued positively for a crusade against the antichrist—“the Whore and her confederates”—meaning of course Counter-Reformation Catholicism and Catholics under leadership of the pope. Soldiers who died in this war would naturally be considered martyrs. Pamphlets and preachers argued positively for armed intervention on the continent in aid of the Protestants and to lay siege to the Babylonian Rome in order to create a New Jerusalem.⁸⁵

Like Luther, Calvin had originally viewed the war against the Turks as a purely secular and political problem. Calvin believed—as did Erasmus—that war was only to be the last resort.⁸⁶ Calvin had, however,

⁷⁹ Cf. also his various arguments on the holy war in his unfinished Francis Bacon, *Advertisement*.

⁸⁰ *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 1:370–93. For biographical information on Bullinger cf. *ibid.*, 4:vii–xiv. The decades came in three editions in English in 1577, 1584, and 1587, *ibid.*, 4:xxvi–xxviii.

⁸¹ *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 1:376–77. Cf. Cunningham & Grell 2000, pp. 145–47.

⁸² *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 1:381–82, 2:105–7, 110. Cf. also *ibid.*, 4:173 where “true Christians” are separated from Jews, Turks, and papists.

⁸³ *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 4:xxviii–xxxi; Johnson 1975, p. 110.

⁸⁴ Cf. Pohlig 2002, pp. 278–316.

⁸⁵ Johnson 1975, esp. p. 123 ff.; Capp 2000, pp. 288–98; Cunningham & Grell 2000, pp. 147–51.

⁸⁶ Pannier 1937; Cunningham & Grell 2000, p. 145.

accepted the idea of the elect even having to kill their own brethren in God's service, based on Exodus 32:26–28, where Moses recruited the sons of Levi to carry out a programme of execution in the name of God.⁸⁷ Luther had rejected the notion of holy war in the sense that there was to be ecclesiastical leadership in war, but he certainly did not argue for pacifism. The church still had an important liturgical role in war, and ultimately the just war was instituted by God. The office of being a soldier, he considered to be ordained by God. Within his apocalyptic framework of the battle against Antichrist and his belief that the princes and soldiers were the instruments of God in this battle the road was more than paved for a religiously justified war against the pope as Antichrist and against the Turk as the Devil incarnate. Did it also give rise to a militant and eschatological Protestantism? The answer was yes. In the following, we will take a closer look at how this manifested itself in Denmark.

It appears as if the idea of conducting offensive religious warfare also became widespread in Scandinavia. Of course the grounds for conducting offensive warfare against the Turks because of their blasphemous religion that placed them outside the civilized world presented by Brentz, Jonas, and Melanchton became widespread, for instance through Carion's chronicle in Melanchton's edition.⁸⁸ They circulated among the learned circles in Wittenberg, and in Denmark they were expressed in an epic poem on the Turks written by the Dane Jacob Nielsen Bonum (1574–1649), which he read aloud at the crowning ceremony of Christian IV and published in Latin in 1596.⁸⁹ If fought with the right intention, as Luther said, you should with a glad and happy mind "chop away in the name of God". Bonum also went through the history of the Turks and their expansion since 1453, which was traditionally interpreted as the result of the sins of the Christians. But offensive warfare on behalf of religion also became accepted against Catholics and the emperor, as even Luther began to acknowledge after 1529. Frederik II certainly appears to have used such rhetoric, and he was drawn towards the Calvinist crusaders from around 1580.⁹⁰ His son

⁸⁷ Waltzer 1968; Housley 2002, p. 4.

⁸⁸ Skovgaard-Petersen 1997, p. 134 n. 38. Cf. above pp. 268–69.

⁸⁹ Boje Mortensen 1992, pp. 13–19, esp. at p. 17.

⁹⁰ Lockhart 2004, pp. 201, 208–9. As Lockhart argues it was actually feared in Denmark that the Armada would attack Denmark. By then, Frederik II had already entered an offensive alliance against the Catholics.

Christian IV led the Protestant armies to battle against the Catholics in 1625—with English support. At Christian IV's coronation in 1596, bishop Peder Vinstrup delivered a speech which was permeated by the Melanchtonian ideals of Christian kings as ministers of God “whose help and work He uses in the nurturing and defence of the Church, in the propagation of the true doctrine and of the true divine cults, in the conservation of laws of discipline [etc.]”.⁹¹ In this respect it is perhaps important that Danish students from the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 increasingly began to study in the Netherlands from whence they sometimes made the journey across the Channel to frequent English universities instead of the usual German Universities because of the dangers involved with travelling in Germany.⁹² But these ideas of course also flourished in Germany where Bullinger's work had appeared in numerous editions and reprints. In 1554, Bullinger even wrote to Christian III and presented his works to him.⁹³ The question undoubtedly would have been debated at the Danish court as it was between Gustav Adolph of Sweden and his teacher Johan Bureus in 1622. Bureus recorded the subject in his diary—unfortunately, we do not know the exact contents of the conversation.⁹⁴

That did not mean, however, that the concept of a united Christendom—a *Corpus Christianorum*—of Christian states was abandoned when it came to resisting the Turks. In England in the 1520s, Thomas More had put the blame for the Turkish advances on the Christian princes and their ambition and desire for each other's dominions rather than on the sins of the people. “If the Lutherans “had any reason in their heads”, they would blame the internal divisions and strife (i.e., nationalist conflicts) of Christian against Christian” for the Turkish advances.⁹⁵ Plans for a Protestant union could have the war against the Turks as their ultimate goals. For instance, the English minister, Lord Burghley, in his blue-print for a Protestant league—including Denmark—against Spain written in 1589, mentioned the prospect of achieving internal peace in Christendom to enable the Christian powers to combine their strength

⁹¹ Skovgaard-Petersen 1997, pp. 125–29 quotation from p. 128.

⁹² Cf. Helk 1987, pp. 25–39, esp. p. 38.

⁹³ *Gelehrter Männer Briefe*, 3:203–4.

⁹⁴ Klemming 1884, p. 77. Cf. Åkerman 1998, p. 138; Nordström 1934, pp. 33–34. Bureus was head of the king's library in the 1620s and had long talks with Gustav Adolph. He often recorded the subjects they discussed in his diary, Klemming 1883 and 1884.

⁹⁵ Adams 1962, p. 276. See Housley 2002, pp. 152–57 for More and the Turks.

in a concerted effort against the Turks.⁹⁶ Frederik II also kept arguing for a Protestant league against the Catholics during the final years of his reign, and it would seem likely that he would have considered a similar prospect for such an alliance. At least the prospect was hoped for in letters sent to the Danish scholar Ole Worm in the middle of the seventeenth century from his international friends in Europe. They reported on the grave situation concerning the Turks and portrayed them as the common enemy of all Christians: “God give us peace that we might transfer the hatred of the Christians on the common Turkish enemy”.⁹⁷ Frederik II died in 1588 and a regency ruled for the young Christian IV until 1594. During that time, the Turks began to move again.

In March 1590, the Turks made peace with Persia. Cossack raids into Ottoman territories created tensions between Poland and the Ottoman Empire. During the next two years, tension along the Ottoman and Polish and Hungarian borders mounted. In 1593, the Porte issued the formal declaration of war, which started the “long Turkish war” of Emperor Rudolph II that lasted until 1606.⁹⁸ In 1592, Rudolph requested Danish assistance in his war against the Turks, which was turned down by the regency for Christian IV.⁹⁹ In 1594, however, an aid of 15.000 Daler was promised to be paid from Lübeck or Flensburg, which was actually paid.¹⁰⁰ Christian IV even promised more to be paid after his coronation ceremony. When reminded of this in 1597, Christian IV had to go back on his promise due to the high costs of his coronation as well as on grounds of national security. He even declined to pay the contributions he owed to the emperor as Duke of Holstein because he needed the money for his own defence.¹⁰¹ In 1611, it again came to war with Sweden, which lasted to 1613. The council had been against the war but been persuaded to grant the taxes for the war when Christian IV threatened to enter the war as Duke of Holstein. Christian IV wore different hats at the same time, which enabled this move. Besides being king of Denmark, he was also duke of Schleswig and Holstein. As Duke of Schleswig he was his own

⁹⁶ Wernham 1984, pp. 143, 150. Cf. Iorga 1894; Niederkorn 1993, pp. 4–5, against Tyerman 1988, p. 348.

⁹⁷ *Breve fra og til Ole Worm*, 3:92–93, 179–80, 221–22 (no. 1297, 1411, 1465).

⁹⁸ Niederkorn 1993.

⁹⁹ Lockhart 2004, p. 315.

¹⁰⁰ Niederkorn 1993, p. 465.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 465–66.

vassal, but as Duke of Holstein he was a prince of the Empire, which meant he could take actions without consulting the Danish aristocratic council. He would repeat this move in 1625 upon entering the Thirty Years' War only this time the council would not follow him—with dire consequences for the outcome. The peace negotiations in 1629, which put an end to Danish participation in the Thirty Years' War, marked a turning point in the relationship between Denmark and Sweden, as the Swedish King Gustav Adolph now entered the war with considerable more success than Christian. In 1643, Sweden invaded Denmark, and in 1644 it came to a catastrophic defeat of the Danish navy in Fehmern Bælt, which led to the harsh peace of Brömsebro in 1645. With the out-break of war in 1643, Denmark gave up any efforts at mediation in the Thirty Years' War and was therefore not among the states that signed the peace of Westphalia in 1648; the year when Christian IV died of old age at his castle of Rosenborg.

The Turks had a strong impact on the imagination, and Christian IV undoubtedly had a keen personal interest the war against them. At the great royal feasts it was common that the guests were dressed up and went in a kind of carnival procession with a first prize for the best costume. At one of these, Christian IV was dressed up as Sergius the renegade monk who all through the Middle Ages and still in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was believed to have founded Islam.¹⁰² At his side, Christian IV also had a little ugly dog called Tyrk—"Turk". The royal monogram was clearly depicted on the collar of Tyrk, not leaving anyone in doubt who was master. Tyrk was depicted in a great painting located at a central place in the royal castle of Frederiksborg.

Liturgical Warfare

It was not only against the Turks that liturgy was used along the lines laid out by Luther. In the following, we will investigate the role of liturgy in Denmark in support of war. Not all wars were religious wars, but divine support was always sought and success and failure depended on the effectiveness of the spiritual battle. Liturgy was used

¹⁰² August Erich, *Klarlige oc Visse Beskriffuelse*, pp. Oii–Q; Kongsted 1988, p. 448; Daniel 1966, pp. 4–5, 79–90. The day after having been dressed up as Sergius, Christian IV showed up as "the courtesan of Rome", presenting the Lutheran image of the Roman Church as the Babylonian whore.

both to give thanks in time of victory and to admonish to penance in times of defeat. On 13 November 1563, Frederik II ordered services of thanks (Takkegudstjenester) for his recent victory over the Swedes with prayers that God would still be with the Danes and give them the upper hand against their enemies.¹⁰³ On 11 May 1566, Frederik II wrote to the superintendent on Sjælland, Dr. Hans Albretsen, that he should perform a celebration of thanks (Takkefest) because the fortress Båhus that had been besieged with force by the enemy now luckily had been relieved.¹⁰⁴ 30 April 1567, he ordered all the superintendents in the country to perform prayers of gratitude in every church for the victory his brother-in-law, Elector August of Saxony, had won when he took the fortresses Gotha and Grimmensten, which he had besieged on the emperor's command.¹⁰⁵ On 7 August 1611, Christian ordered prayers of thanks to be held for the victory over the Swedes at Kalmar. At the same time, prayers were said to ask God for continuous help to "inflict damage and injuries to our enemies for the honour and praise of his divine name and the benefit of our country".¹⁰⁶ Christian IV ordered the bishops of the country to offer prayers of thanks on the occasion of the peace settlement with Sweden in 1613.¹⁰⁷ In 1631, Christian IV ordered the giving of thanks for the victory of the "Evangelicals in Germany" over the Catholics from all the pulpits together with ordinary liturgical prayers for future successes.¹⁰⁸

Before battle, the soldiers prepared spiritually. For instance it is described how Otto Rud who succeeded Herluf Trolle as admiral of the Danish navy in 1565 during the Seven Years War with Sweden prepared for battle. He made his men attend divine services and sing hymns three times a day. Before engaging the enemy, he "admonished his men to fall on their knees and say their prayers to God and advised them to remember their oaths and honour towards their lord and king and fight manfully against their enemies". Then the priest gave them absolution for their sins. Afterwards hymns were sung in both Danish and German.¹⁰⁹ But naturally, the church provided the spiritual artillery.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ *Danske Kirkelove*, 2:72.

¹⁰⁴ *Danske Kirkelove*, 2:82.

¹⁰⁵ *Danske Kirkelove*, 2:96.

¹⁰⁶ *Danske Kirkelove*, 3:37–38.

¹⁰⁷ *Danske Kirkelove*, 3:38.

¹⁰⁸ *Danske Kirkelove*, 3:197.

¹⁰⁹ *Humanitas christiana*, pp. 99–100; *Brave danske mænd*, 1:335.

¹¹⁰ On a more curious level, Christian IV forged sets of canon with thematic names. One for instance consisted of the complete lineage of Danish kings from King Dan.

When Christian IV was preparing his fleet for war with Sweden in 1611, he ordered on 21 March the bishops to instruct the parish priests to perform intercessory prayers for the ships and their crews and ask God to protect them from harm. The prayers should be said in all churches every Sunday and on all other feast days. At the same time, they should place chests in the churches for pious donations and alms for the sailors on the men-of-war who were wounded or injured. Yearly registers should be sent to the king's chamber of these incomes.¹¹¹ On 23 April the same year, similar instructions were issued. It was ordered that prior to the preaching during Sunday mass, the priest should begin by saying a prayer to God "for the king, the nobles and soldiers, and for the fleet that God would protect them and keep them from harm and grant victory over their enemies in honour of his holy name and the benefit of the kingdom and its subjects". In the like fashion once a week in the cities after the preaching, the litany should be sung.¹¹²

The kings also instituted prayer-days to call the population to penance, not only to avert natural disasters but also to secure success in war. Frederik II ordered three successive prayer-days that begged God to prevent the just punishment for the people's sins.¹¹³ At the death of Frederik II, the young Christian ordered prayer-days to be observed. The instructions explained: The just anger and punishment of God for our manifold sins is everywhere to be seen, witnessed by war and pestilence and other well-deserved torments for our sins. God had also punished Denmark in taking away Frederik II, who should have been the comfort and support in these difficult times. His divine anger must be met with serious penance and Christian prayer. For this reason, Christian IV had ordered three prayer-days to be performed on 17–19 February 1589. At these prayer-days, legal assemblies were forbidden as well as all social events and trade in order for the prayer-days not to be disturbed and to ensure that they could be performed with "Christian devotion and sincerity" ("christelig Andagt og Alvorlighed").¹¹⁴

In 1592, Christian IV again instituted prayer-days to avert God's just punishments. If these prayers were to succeed it was of course

In this context, the series reproducing the twelve apostles is perhaps more interesting. It really gave the basis for providing a very physical "holy broadside" otherwise fired through prayers, cf. Probst 1996, pp. 68–70.

¹¹¹ *Danske Kirkelove*, 3:34–35.

¹¹² *Danske Kirkelove*, 3:36.

¹¹³ *Danske Kirkelove*, 2:277.

¹¹⁴ *Danske Kirkelove*, 2:457–59.

necessary that they were performed properly, as he simultaneously enjoined.¹¹⁵ In 1593 he decreed that the prayer-bell was to be rung every morning and every evening because it inspired “much good and Christian devotion” (“giffuer mangel god oc christelig andact”) and made many people who gave little attention to or seldom thought of God say a little prayer at the sound of the bell.¹¹⁶ Perhaps there is a connection to the mounting Turkish attacks, which lead to the “Long Turkish War”? The siege and conquest of the fortress Nógrád in 1594 was made public by the publication in Copenhagen later that year of a small *Türkenbuchlein* telling of the Christian victory. It said that “for the victory that has been granted to the whole of Christendom thanks should be given from the heart (“aff Hiertet”) to the almighty God and unceasing prayers continued to be said that God would grant further mercy and victory”.¹¹⁷ Extra-ordinary prayer-days were also decreed in 1617, 1619, 1621, 1623, 1625, 1626, and in 1627 to encourage the population to do penance to avert God’s punishments and to provide support to the war in Germany. The enemies of the realm were seen as the punishing rod of God. Contemporary Danish propagandists stated that only when Denmark and the Danes had been punished for their sins would God destroy the enemies and save this northern Jerusalem.¹¹⁸ The bishop of Copenhagen, Hans Poulsen Resen, wrote sermons for the litany to be used on these days, which became more and more gloomy as the situation in Germany became worse elaborating in detail on the punishments resulting from the sinful nature of the Danes.¹¹⁹

Besides the prayers of Luther against the Turks, specific new prayers against the archenemy of Christendom, the Turk and his followers, were also used. We have already noted how the Danish church held special prayer-days against the Turks. In Sweden, the prayer against the Turk formed part of the new vernacular prayer-books after the Reformation and was also printed separately all through the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. For instance, the Swedish translation of Johannes Avenarius’ popular prayerbook *Christelige böner* [*Christian Prayers*] came in three editions in 1633, 1635

¹¹⁵ *Danske Kirkelove*, 2:504.

¹¹⁶ *Danske Kirkelove*, 2:512–13.

¹¹⁷ *Novigrad det store Befestelse indtagit*; Göllner 1961–78, 2:509.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Lockhart 1998, esp. pp. 229–42.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Kornerup 1968, pp. 227–31.

and 1669 and they all contained the prayer against the Turk.¹²⁰ When the Turks were at the gates of Vienna again in 1683, it was printed separately in both Swedish and Finnish.¹²¹ Prayers of thanks were printed in connection with victories over the Turks for instance after the Turkish withdrawal from Vienna in 1683; when the Turks lifted the siege of “Graan” and the city of “Neuheusel” afterwards was conquered in 1685; in connection with a defeat of the Turks in 1687; to celebrate the imperial victory over the Turks in September 1689 with prayers all through October and November; and to celebrate the conquest of “Store Waradin” in Hungary in 1692 with prayers in the months of June and August. According to the instructions, they were said to the congregations all over Sweden and Finland.¹²² In *Itt Nytt Svensk Manuale* from 1685, the prayer against the Turks is followed by a prayer for remission of sins and to avert our just punishments. To illustrate the destruction of Jerusalem is a copperplate print showing a Turk with drawn scimitar and turban in front of the burning city.¹²³ These prayers explained the advance of the Turks as punishment for our sins. They asked people to do penance and to ask God for forgiveness so he would be like a wall of fire surrounding the *patria*. Only in the second quarter of the eighteenth century did these prayers change in form and content from their medieval counterparts—yet they were still prayers against the Turks.

In a recent disussion, Paul Douglas Lockhart has argued that the prayer-days of the years 1626–29 deviated from their former use—they were declared with much shorter intervals, once a week, after the defeat of Christian IV in the Thirty Years War in 1626 (see below) and that the involvement of the king in shaping their contents became much greater. It should be stressed, however, that the basic ideology of penitence as mentioned above, and the liturgical measures adopted to avert the just punishment of God, were in use immediately after the Reformation when the king at least confirmed and accepted the contents from an early stage, but Lockhart might have a point in that Christian IV made strenuous efforts to involve the entire population and

¹²⁰ Johannes Avenarius, *Christelige böner*, pp. 359–64, 292–96 and 189 respectively.

¹²¹ *Bön emoth Christenhetenes Fiende Turcken och hans tyranniske Anhang*. Cf. Collijn 1942–44, 1:133, 2:1049. A contemporary notice on the copy in Uppsala states that it was said for the first time in *Storkyrkan* in Stockholm 22 July 1683.

¹²² Collijn 1942–44, 1:139–40.

¹²³ *Itt Nytt Svensk Manuale*, pp. 1183–85. The description of the destruction of Jerusalem is found on pp. 893–902.

much more frequently than before.¹²⁴ But perhaps it is even better to see the prayers as a continuation of measures that were used to extensively counter the enemies of the realm and of the faith even before the Reformation. It is one of these areas where there is really no clear dividing line between pre- and post-Reformation times. There can be no doubt that this programme of instructing the population to perform penance to avert the punishment of God either in the form of Swedes or Turks would have had a tremendous impact among the general populace. Just as the crusade before the Reformation was promulgated and made the personal obligation of every Christian, so was the war against the Turks after the Reformation.

*The war against the Turks*¹²⁵

It is difficult to estimate how many Danes participated in the crusades against the Turks after 1536, but it was perhaps not that uncommon. For example Tyge Krabbe Mogensen, who died in 1570, participated in the service of the emperor “in three or four major battles against the Turk”.¹²⁶ Holger Rosenkrantz fought in the service of Charles V “with horses and men” against the Turks. When the Turks retreated, he was dismissed and went home. Hearing of renewed Turkish attacks, he immediately wanted to leave to fight them again but was prevented by his parents.¹²⁷ The brothers Otto, Melchior and Johannes Rantzau fought in the Austrian and Polish armies against the Turks, as did Just Høgh (1584–1646) in the Venetian fleet, and Jacob Ulfeldt (1567–1630) in the ranks of the Knights of Saint John together with his brother Mogens in 1588–89.¹²⁸ Duke Hans Adolph of Nordborg (1576–1624) fought against the Turks in Austrian service between 1602 and 1609. The noble and bellicose Jesper Friis (1593–1643) travelled to Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine around 1618. In 1619, he fought in imperial service in Bohemia and Hungary, probably also against the Turks.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Lockhart 1998, p. 229. Cf. Olden-Jørgensen 2006, pp. 101–2.

¹²⁵ Cf. in general Setton 1976–84, vols. 3–4; Setton 1991.

¹²⁶ *Kong Valdemar Den Andens Jysk Low-Bog*. For him and the following individuals, cf. also the articles in DBL Bricka and DBL Bech.

¹²⁷ *Den danske Adel i det 16de og 17de Aarhundrede*, 1:177–201 at pp. 178–80.

¹²⁸ Glarbo 1936–38, p. 3. Cf. Helk 1987, p. 38.

¹²⁹ In service of the emperor he ended up fighting against Christian IV in 1625. When he was severely injured and captured he was allowed to return to Denmark to heal his wounds. He was given leave by the emperor and entered the service of the Danish king.

Cort Sivertsen Adler (1622–1675) fought in the Turkish-Venetian war (1645–69) and distinguished himself on several occasions. When he took his leave in 1659, he received a pension to be paid to him and to his successors for three generations by the Venetian state and became a Knight of St. Marcus. He took with him to Denmark a Turkish standard captured during a naval battle near the Dardanelles probably in 1657 and which was later displayed at the royal cabinet of curiosities. He was ennobled in 1666 and became Danish admiral in 1669.¹³⁰ At least young Danish nobles fought the Turk in effigy when exercising mounted combat. One of the exercises was to spear as many heads on stakes as possible. The heads were made from paper mâché and all had turbans and moustaches, not leaving anyone in doubt as to whom they were supposed to look like.

Turkish corsairs were of course a common problem and Danish travel accounts tell of occasional fighting that also resulted in casualties. Hans Poulsen Resen (1561–1638) who later became bishop of Copenhagen had to flee for his life from Turkish pirates in the 1590s but was “mercifully saved by God”.¹³¹ His son Peder Hansen Resen (1625–88) travelled in Spain. When he came to Cordoba, he admired the “strangest cathedral” in Europe. It was build by the Moors, he says, who are of Turkish religion and used to be a Turkish church called a “Meskita”.¹³² He came to Gibraltar and would have sailed on to Africa had not the commandant at Gibraltar warned him not to do so, because of the danger of being caught by the Turks.¹³³

The young nobles were also drawn towards the Hungarian border, hoping to catch a glimpse of the dreaded enemy, although all Sigvard Grubbe saw in the 1580s was some chopped off Turkish heads on stakes!¹³⁴ He also told in his diary that after the news of the death of Frederik II reached him in Padua, he by chance heard a Jesuit preach “with large gestures” that a great heretical king had died in the North, for which we should thank God. The many apostates in the North would now return to the womb of the mother church. Sigvard could not help laughing.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ Flindt 1996.

¹³¹ *Brave Danske Mænds*, 2:142.

¹³² *Brave Danske Mænds*, 1:606.

¹³³ *Brave Danske Mænds*, 1:607.

¹³⁴ *Sigvard Grubbes Dagbog*, pp. 377–78. For the educational journeys of young Danish nobles, cf. Helk 1987.

¹³⁵ *Sigvard Grubbes Dagbog*, p. 376.

Two cases from king's court of the 1590s are very interesting in this respect. Jørgen Høgh received the death penalty for the murder of the mayor in the city of Skive in 1592, but was pardoned on condition that he left the country within six weeks and "let himself be used against the Turk". In 1594, he was ordered to be arrested when the king learned that the *written* conditions Høgh had signed—that he would leave the country within six weeks and serve in the war against the Turks for four years—had not been fulfilled at all. Not only had he stayed in Denmark for more than the six weeks, but he never went to fight against the Turk. Instead he moved to Sweden—something that especially upset the young King Christian IV—and re-married. In July 1594, Christian wrote to King Sigismund III of Sweden and Poland that he wanted Høgh executed.¹³⁶ It is perhaps important to note that Høgh's case is only known because he did *not* go to fight the Turks. Others did, however. In October 1599, Frederik Rosenkrantz was condemned at the king's court in Copenhagen in the presence of Christian IV to lose his noble title as well as two of his fingers for having impregnated one of the queen's maidens. He too was pardoned on condition that he went to Hungary to fight the Turks. The terms of the agreement must have resembled those of Jørgen Høgh. Frederik went to Hungary and soon distinguished himself in the war against the Turks. His superiors begged his pardon from Christian IV, who refused to give permission for Frederik to return to Denmark. Frederik was shortly afterwards killed in an attempt to separate two duellists and was buried in Prague.¹³⁷ To commute the penalty for a crime against the Danish king by fighting the Turks could almost be seen as the final stage in the development of the Lutheran secularised crusade indulgence.

The Turks in the North Atlantic

The Turks were not as far away from the Danish borders as is sometimes believed. A kind of frontier existed in the North Atlantic where North-African corsairs raided for slaves. Pirates from the Barbary coasts were a special nuisance in the period 1500–1800, and it has been estimated that more than a million Christians were dragged into slavery

¹³⁶ KaBr 1593–96, pp. 241, 267–68.

¹³⁷ *Danske Domme 1375–1662*, 6:100–4 (no. 783–84).

in North Africa in the period.¹³⁸ Ships from the North travelling to the Mediterranean were of course natural prey, but the range covered by the pirates was impressive. In 1627, they even landed on Iceland, killing around 50 people and dragging 250 into captivity. Several accounts of the events and people who wrote of their experiences in captivity have been preserved.¹³⁹ For instance, the Icelander Oluf Eigilssen left a fascinating story of his experiences from when he was taken captive with his pregnant wife—who gave birth on the Turkish ship in the middle of the Atlantic eleven days after they left Iceland—to their captivity in Algiers in Algeria and the return to Iceland. After a not that unpleasant stay in Algiers, he was sent to Denmark to ask his king for ransom money for the prisoners.¹⁴⁰ As becomes apparent from Oluf's account, there were many different nationalities aboard the "Turkish" ships—he mentions Danes, Norwegians, English, a Spaniard, and a German some of whom had converted. It was the newly converted who showed most ferocity:

The Turks proper are in their ways just as people from any other nation (so to speak), whereas those who had been Christians and denounced their faith, but in their outward appearance were like the Turks, performed all the evil deeds.¹⁴¹

Christian IV was very concerned for his "subjects in Turkish captivity"—that is, Danes, Norwegians, Icelanders, etc. and took various measures in their support.¹⁴² First he equipped warships to patrol the North Atlantic waters. In 1633, the captain of the man-of-war Raphael got orders to set sail for the Faeroe Islands, explicitly to "keep the king's waters free from corsairs and Turks".¹⁴³ Measures were also taken to defend merchant ships sailing to Spain and in the Mediterranean, called "ships of defence" (*defensionsskibe*). They were big, armoured merchant

¹³⁸ Davis 2003, esp. pp. 3–26. Contemporaries defined the Barbary Coasts as stretching from Cape Bojador on Morocco's Atlantic coast to Tripoli, cf. Tracy 2002, p. 133 f.

¹³⁹ They are published in *Tyrkjaránið á Íslandi 1627*.

¹⁴⁰ Oluf Eigilssen, *En kort Beretning om de Tyrkiske Søe-Roveresj Tyrkjaránið á Íslandi 1627*, pp. 91–203. This was just one of several accounts of the incident. Some have been lost but they were used by Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá when instructed to write an official history of the event in 1643 by the Bishop of Hólar, see Þ. Helgason 1997, esp. p. 278. Cf. Riise Kristensen 2003; Davis 2003.

¹⁴¹ Oluf Eigilssen, *En kort Beretning*, p. 20. Cf. Þ. Helgason 1995, pp. 127–35; Davis 2003, pp. 27–65.

¹⁴² For Norway, cf. Fossen 1979.

¹⁴³ KaBr 1633–34, p. 95.

ships. The measure was given up in 1656 but put into effect again in 1670, and in 1672, two Norwegian ships of defence—one of which carried the name Saint Francis—successfully fought against an Algerian corsair named “the Lion” off the coast of Portugal.¹⁴⁴ Second, in 1623, he created *Tyrkerkassen* (almost: the Turkish Fund) to ransom the king’s subjects in Turkish captivity. The money was to come from a systematic taxation of the church. Later, each diocese was ordered to collect a certain amount of money within a given period, which meant that everybody in the parishes was called upon to contribute, willingly or not. The collection of money was to be kept secret so that the price for the release of the prisoners did not increase. Agreements were made with reliable merchants who were to perform the transactions.¹⁴⁵ In one of the parish churches on the Danish island of Als there is an epitaph that was erected for the money collected to ransom Jørgen Martensen, who died in Turkish captivity. It depicts how the priest and congregation prays for the soul of the prisoner and how he will become a martyr. A heart with eyes and ears are placed to the top right with a ray of light touching the mouth of the prisoner being tortured by a Turk. In the ray of light is written: “I see all that Laban does to you”. It can be seen from the parish register that money were collected for the ransom of Christian prisoners on three occasions in 1638, 1660, and 1664.¹⁴⁶ Money also came from other sources. An immigrated Dutch couple asked the king for permission to marry although they were cousins. They got the dispensation on the condition that they each paid 30 *speciedaler* to *Tyrkerkassen*.¹⁴⁷

The Fund also covered expenses for individuals who had ransomed prisoners personally.¹⁴⁸ In the meantime, arrangements were made on behalf of the crown to ransom prisoners. On two occasions, however, in 1631 and 1633, the ransom money disappeared on the way. Perhaps it was stolen by the agents. In 1635, it was managed to ransom 34 of the Icelanders together with a number of other of the king’s subjects in Turkish captivity. Among the prisoners that were released in 1635 was Oluf Eigilssen’s wife Ásta. She arrived the year after in Copenhagen

¹⁴⁴ Gjeruldsen 2002, pp. 154–60; Fossen 1979, pp. 244–45.

¹⁴⁵ KaBr 1621–23, pp. 576–77; KaBr 1624–26, pp. 170–71, 413, 430–31, 481–82, 521; KaBr 1627–29, pp. 202, 567; KaBr 1630–32, pp. 206–7; KaBr 1633–34, pp. 135, 295–96, 448, 459, 739, 752; KaBr 1635–36, pp. 411–12, 436–37.

¹⁴⁶ Bjerg 1996, p. 78.

¹⁴⁷ 16 October 1625, KaBr 1624–26, p. 521.

¹⁴⁸ KaBr 1627–29, p. 202. Cf. Fossen 1979, p. 242.

where she and the other released prisoners had to wait for next spring before being shipped to Iceland. During this time they received renewed teaching in the true faith as the authorities were apparently concerned that the former slaves had converted during their stay in Algeria. They were taught by a student of theology by the name of Hallgrímur Péturson, who also happened to make one of the women, Guðriður Simonasdóttir, pregnant. As she was a married woman, this would of course result in a scandal and he was shipped together with the released prisoners to Iceland in the spring. Luckily, Guðriður's husband had just died so she narrowly escaped facing accusations of adultery. This was naturally a real problem, not only for those taken prisoner, but for those left behind as well. There had always been strict rules concerning the left-behind wives of crusaders if their husbands went missing during crusades.¹⁴⁹ In 1633, the king wrote to one of his admirals, Pros Mund, "that it is told" that the relatives of those who had been taken prisoner by the Turks have begun to live in adultery. Due to the harsh circumstances this should not be punished as severely as usual, although they should not be allowed to remarry because people worked for the prisoners' release.¹⁵⁰ As Guðriður's husband had died she could marry Hallgrímur, who ended up as the greatest Icelandic composer of hymns. He had the biggest church in Reykjavík named after him. Guðriður only entered history as "Tyrker-Gudda"—"Turkish Gudda".¹⁵¹

In 1629, Turkish corsairs with a Danish navigator raided the Faroes in two ships. On the island of Alba six people were killed and at least 30 women and children dragged into captivity. The corsairs would probably have continued raiding and "destroyed and burned the whole poor country", had they not been stopped by a storm that smashed one of the ships onto the cliffs. The other ship disappeared. The many corpses, it is said, were buried on the beach at a place that still bears the name of "Turkagravir"—"graves of the Turks".¹⁵² The fear of the Turk was still felt in the North Atlantic later on. On the Faroe Islands shots were fired at a peaceful English merchant ship in 1634 that approached the harbour too fast, because the locals took it for a Turkish corsair. And in Iceland in 1644, the bishop of Hólar, Thorlak Skulason, reported how the inhabitants on "the uttermost placed island

¹⁴⁹ Brundage 1967a; Brundage 1967b.

¹⁵⁰ KaBr 1633–1634, pp. 295–96.

¹⁵¹ See J. Helgason 1963, esp. pp. 201–11. Cf. Riise Kristensen 2003, p. 104.

¹⁵² Fossen 1979, p. 234; Riise Kristensen 2003, p. 109.

in the world live in terror of the Turks and other brigands”.¹⁵³ A Danish suggestion in 1663 to have a man-of-war patrolling the waters around Iceland permanently at the expense of the Icelandic tax-payers was turned down by the bishop, Brynjólfur Sveinsson, on a rather curious ground. He said that the heavy new extra burden might result in the already poor population being tempted to let themselves be taken captive voluntarily and try their luck abroad.¹⁵⁴ The fear on Iceland as well as the problem of Turkish corsairs for merchant ships continued well into the eighteenth century. As everywhere else, the attacks were seen as God’s punishments for sins.¹⁵⁵ In 1650 the prominent Icelandic farmer Kláus Eyjólfsson and a Danish merchant trading with Iceland, who both had connections to the 1627 event, donated a tabernacle to the parish church Kross on the south coast of Iceland. The triptych depicts on the right wing the Vision of John depicted with a sword coming out of his mouth. Þorsteinn Helgason sees the subject, which is rare in a Nordic iconography, in connection to Luther’s general interpretation of the Apocalypse as predicting the attacks of the Turks on Christian Europe.¹⁵⁶ It would have made perfect sense to an Icelandic audience, themselves being exposed to Turkish attacks. Later generations of Icelandic historians have had a tendency to put the blame for the 1627 assault on the uselessness of the Danish royal governor Holger Børgesen Rosenkrantz, but recently he has been exonerated.¹⁵⁷ In the seventeenth century the Danish government was thus directly involved in fighting the “Turks” and in taking measures against them. The specific events on Iceland might not in themselves have been important in shaping public opinion, but the problem was felt throughout the society and the collection of money certainly circulated knowledge of Danish prisoners in Turkish captivity. On a local level, like the example from Als shows, the impact must have been great and something the entire local community would have taken part in. Danish subjects were directly exposed

¹⁵³ *Breve fra og til Ole Worm*, 3:51 (no. 1238): “Medens vor allernaadigste Konge er stedet i saa vanskelig og farlig en Krig, lever vi her paa verdens yderste Ø i Rædselen for Tyrker og andre Røvere. Gud værne os under sine Vingers skygge, os, som er vaabenløse og uden nogen Kræfter til at forsvare og beskytte os selv; han unde os faderligt, at vi snart maa høre glædeligere Nyt om Danmarks Riges Stilling”.

¹⁵⁴ Þ. Helgason 1997, pp. 282–83.

¹⁵⁵ Þ. Helgason 1997, pp. 284–88.

¹⁵⁶ Þ. Helgason 2000–2001.

¹⁵⁷ Balldursson 2002.

to Turkish attacks. Some even went to fight them directly. Others went for the more peaceful reason of pilgrimage to the holy places.

Pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre

It was not just the "Turks" who came to the North—the traffic also went in the other direction. People from Scandinavia naturally went to the Holy Land as pilgrims and merchants. From all over Europe, many pilgrims visited the Holy Sepulchre in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. It will be fruitful to take a short look at the practice of Jerusalem pilgrimage in Denmark before the Reformation for comparison with sixteenth and seventeenth century travellers. Through a number of different sources like for instance charters, travel accounts, itineraries etc., quite a lot is known of the routes used by pilgrims and the hardships they endured.¹⁵⁸ Some Scandinavian pilgrims were sent in accordance with instructions laid down in wills. The most well known example is perhaps the will of Margrethe I, who in 1411 donated 2.000 mark to finance pilgrimages to 44 named pilgrimage sites scattered all over Europe. Six men were sent to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and the Holy Places including Saint Catharine's on Mount Sinai.¹⁵⁹ Many other examples could be cited. For instance, a will dated 19 October 1466 donated 500 Rhenish Guilder for pilgrimages to Rome, Jerusalem, and Santiago de Compostella.¹⁶⁰ Some pilgrims would have become captives or even tried their luck in foreign service like the two German Mamluks the German pilgrim Arnald von Harff (1471–1505) met in Cairo: one was born in Basel, called by his Christian name Conrad of Basel. The other was born in Denmark.¹⁶¹

Although we do not have detailed travel accounts from the fifteenth century from Scandinavia, quite a number of named pilgrims to the Holy Land are known through the papal licenses allowing them to go. In 1475, Queen Dorothea's confessor, the Franciscan friar Conrad Gruben from Saxony, was allowed make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre together with a companion of his own choosing.¹⁶² In 1486,

¹⁵⁸ Mitchell 1964; Prescott 1954.

¹⁵⁹ Erslev 1881–82, pp. 377–79 (no. 3). Erslev estimated that Margrethe made donations worth over a million Danish kroner in his time to the church in her wills.

¹⁶⁰ Rep. II, 1:704 (no. 2164).

¹⁶¹ *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, p. 102.

¹⁶² APD, 4:111, 8 May 1475, nr. 2636.

the Priest Gerlak Mortensen from Børglum Parish and Katarina, the widow of Jakob Jørgensen from Roskilde got permission to visit the Holy Sepulchre and other holy places on the other side of the sea that they wanted to visit “pro animarum suarum salute et peccaminum remissione ac felici statu religionis christiane in commemorationem redemptionis humane per passionem creatoris eius”.¹⁶³ The cleric Bjørn Eriksen from the diocese of Viborg got permission to visit the Holy Sepulchre. He wanted to visit “terram sanctam Jerusalem” for his own and his parents’ “salute” in 1487.¹⁶⁴ The two canons, Dr. Jakob Jakobsen from Lund and Laurentius Johannis from Åbo, who were both present in Rome, got permission to visit the Holy Land in 1496.¹⁶⁵ The same year three priests, Frederik Assens, Claus Minici and Morten Scherler from the diocese of Schleswig got permission to visit the Holy Sepulchre and the other holy places in the diocese of Jerusalem in the lands on the other side of the sea.¹⁶⁶ The “in artibus magister”, Claus Daa from Odense, got permission to visit the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the other holy places “in remissionem peccatorum” in 1506.¹⁶⁷ The Copenhagen canon Claus Pedersen got permission from the pope to visit the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and other holy places in the Holy Land “for his devotion” in 1515.¹⁶⁸ The priest Mads Ovesen from Roskilde Parish went to Rome on a pilgrimage and visited the holy places of that city. While in Rome, his devotion nurtured the wish to visit the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and other holy and pious places on the other side of the sea, to which end he received permission by the pope and letters of recommendation in 1517.¹⁶⁹ Several itineraries have been preserved, both the more common ones in Latin—like Burchard de Monte Sion’s—and some in Danish.¹⁷⁰ And from the early sixteenth

¹⁶³ APD, 4:371, 19 May 1486, (no. 3026).

¹⁶⁴ APD, 4:395–96, 19 April 1487 (no. 3075).

¹⁶⁵ APD, 5:144, 28 March 1496 (no. 3522); DDL, 5:274–75 (no. 336).

¹⁶⁶ APD, 5:147, 3 May 1496 (no. 3527).

¹⁶⁷ APD, 5:438, 20 March (and 4 April) 1506 (no. 4038).

¹⁶⁸ APD, 6:109–10, 29 March 1515 (no. 4513).

¹⁶⁹ APD, 6:191–92, 27 April 1517 (no. 4622).

¹⁷⁰ Burchard de Monte Sion’s is found in several manuscripts in Copenhagen and Uppsala. At least one was copied in Vadstena towards the end of the fourteenth century, UUB: C14, fols. 2^r–17^r. A *Viagium Terrae Sanctae* was copied in Vadstena in the fifteenth century, UUB: C43, fols. 18^v–20^v. A Danish fifteenth century itinerary is found in ms. AM 792 4^o edited by Lorenzen in *Mandevilles Rejse*. An *Itinerarium Hyerosolimitanum* was found in the library of the Cistercian Monastery Æm (Cara Insula) when an inventory was made in 1554 at the request of the king, cf. *Om Kloster*, p. 226. The twelfth century itinerary by Nikulás of Munkaþverá (cf. p. 165 n. 32) in Icelandic was copied

century, the travel accounts begin to appear. In 1518, the two nobles Holger Gregersen Ulfstand and Johan Oxen went to Jerusalem, of which they left an account.¹⁷¹ Another early sixteenth century account of a journey to Jerusalem is preserved in the same manuscripts.¹⁷²

It was not uncommon that nobles went to Jerusalem shortly after having been involved in heavy fighting. One of King Hans' admirals, Otto Rud—who according to the chronicle of the reform-Catholic Paulus Helie was one of the renowned leaders in the maritime war fought between King Hans and Sweden and Lübeck—went to Jerusalem in 1509 but died on the way in the Bavarian town of Landsbjerg in 1510. Perhaps his pilgrimage is to be seen in connection with his exploits during the wars. In August 1509, he took the city of Åbo (Turku) in Finland with a Danish fleet. The succeeding sack of the city that lasted five days was even after contemporary standards extraordinarily thorough and harsh. Especially the cathedral of the city was plundered.¹⁷³ The nobleman Mogens Gyldenstjerne was knighted by Christian II for his part in the conquest of Stockholm in 1520. Afterwards he went to Jerusalem where he was knighted at the Holy Sepulchre. Afterwards he bathed in the River Jordan “where our Lord, Jesus Christ was baptized”.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps he felt guilty for his part in the condemning and execution of a large number of Swedish nobles and ecclesiastics in the wake of the Danish victory and reincorporation of Sweden into the Kalmar Union, known as the bloodbath of Stockholm.

Not all, of course, went for such specific penitential purposes—or at least they are now unknown. Probably just as many went out of devotion alone. Many were knighted at the Holy Sepulchre as nobles from all over Europe were. Henrik Nielsen Rosenkrantz (†1537) was knighted in Jerusalem in 1522 and his letter of knighthood has been preserved.¹⁷⁵ The dubbing of knights at the Holy Sepulchre had probably

on Iceland in 1387, *Alfriðri Islenszk*, pp. 12–23; J. M. Jensen 2004e. Perhaps the version of Burchard de Monte Sion's *Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ* found in UUB: C14 was written in Sweden towards the end of the fourteenth century when it was in the Vadstena Library. It is followed in the manuscript by a series of sermons “de pugna spirituali”, cf. also MHU, 1:148–49.

¹⁷¹ KB: GkS 844 2°, fols. 235^v–239^r. Another copy is preserved in KB: NkS 540 2°, fols. 11^r–16^r.

¹⁷² KB: GkS 844 2°, fols. 240^v–245^v; KB: NkS 540 2°, fols. 17^v–21^r. They have been edited by Rørdam 1901.

¹⁷³ DBL Bech, 12:460; Paulus Helie, *Skibykröniken*, pp. 44–45 n. 1.

¹⁷⁴ *Brave Danske Mænds*, 1:657.

¹⁷⁵ *Diplomatarium til Familien Rosenkrantz's Historie*, 2:54–55 (no. 45).

been performed since the twelfth century and it became increasingly popular during the fourteenth century. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the pope handed over the privilege of dubbing knights to the Franciscans, but although the knights performed a vow, received special privileges, and their names were drawn up in a roll, one cannot speak of a knightly order before the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁶ The ritual towards the end of the fifteenth century is described in several travel accounts, for instance by Arnald von Harff towards the end of the fifteenth century:

[A knightly brother called Hans of Prussia came with a golden sword and two golden spurs,] “and asked me if I desired to be a knight. I said yes. He asked me if I was well-born and of noble parents. I replied that I hoped so. He told me to place one foot and then the other on the Holy Sepulchre. Then he fixed on both the golden spurs and girded the sword on my left side, saying: ‘Draw the sword and kneel before the Holy Sepulchre. Take the sword in the left hand and place two fingers of the right hand on it, and say after me. “As I, a noble knight, have travelled a long and distant way, and have suffered much pain and misfortune to seek honour in the holy land of Jerusalem, and have now reached the place of martyrdom of our Lord Jesus Christ and the holy sepulchre, in order that my sins may be forgiven, and I may live an upright life, so I desire to become here God’s knight, and promise by my faith and honour to protect the widows, orphans, churches, monasteries, and the poor, and do no man injustice in his goods, money, friendship or kin, to help to right wrongs, and so bear myself as becomes an honourable knight, so help me God and the holy sepulchre”. When I had repeated this, he took the sword from my hand and struck me with it on the back, saying ‘Arise, knight, in honour of the holy sepulchre and the knight Saint George’. May God in Heaven provide that I and the others of my companions, who are knights, or may be created knights, may never break their vows. Amen”.¹⁷⁷

A more elaborate liturgy is found in Franciscus Mennenius’ work on knightly orders. In the 1613 version—which is the earliest version that I had access to—the knights also vowed to defend and protect the holy Church and to fight the enemies of the Christian name and Christian faith.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Cramer 1940, 1941, 1949, 1950, 1952 [the last work was a summary without references of the research presented in the other studies]; Elm 1980, pp. 142–46. A Danish heraldic study of the Jerusalem cross treats the order briefly: Haxthausen 1960, pp. 303–4.

¹⁷⁷ *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, p. 202.

¹⁷⁸ Franciscus Mennenius, *Deliciae equestrium ordinum* (Köln, 1613), pp. 43–49. Cf. the

To go on a pilgrimage was not prohibited in Denmark and Norway at the Reformation as it was in Sweden.¹⁷⁹ Pilgrims continued to visit Jerusalem and to be dubbed as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁸⁰ One of the Danish manuscript versions of *Mandeville's Travels* is an abridged version from the second half of the sixteenth century that particularly focuses on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, reflecting interest in the continuing interest in the Jerusalem pilgrimage.¹⁸¹ In the Protestant eulogies, however, more emphasis is placed on the aspect that they undertook these journeys more for the sake of learning about other cultures than for the sake of religion, which of course would be the official explanation. The noble Johan Rantzau (1492–1565) for example—who was knighted at the Holy Sepulchre—was praised for having travelled all over the world not for the sake of religion but in order to learn the art of war and other people's customs.¹⁸² Mogens Gyldenstierne was praised in his eulogy for having visited many countries—among others Cyprus and Rhodes—to gain knowledge of other peoples, which he used in the service for his *patria*.¹⁸³

Beside the examples mentioned above, a number of Danish nobles visited Jerusalem after the Reformation. Sigvard Grubbe met Christian Barnekow and Jacob Ulfeldt in Venice in the 1580s while they were embarking on a trip to the Holy Land. Sigvard was keen on joining them, but he had already made other arrangements. He tried to make a change of plans but was bound by his word of honour, and despite trying to be released from his former agreement, he was left to wave on the shore while his Danish friends sailed off.¹⁸⁴ He really missed some interesting journeys. Christian Barnekow went all the way to Ethiopia after having seen Jerusalem.¹⁸⁵ Ulfeldt, who as mentioned above fought with the Hospitallers, went on to Syria and Egypt.

slightly later version: Mennenius, *Militarium Ordinum* (Köln, 1623), pp. 21–24. Mennenius' description of the Danish Order of the Elephant (cf. below) suggests that he knew the collar in its pre-Reformation shape. It made Werlauff (1872, pp. 83–84) think that Mennenius had his information concerning the Order from Christian II while he was in the Netherlands. Werlauff also speculated in earlier editions of his work, but I have not come across any dated earlier than 1613.

¹⁷⁹ Bring 1827, pp. 179–81.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. V. Simonsen 1813, pp. 159–77.

¹⁸¹ *The Danish Version of "Mandeville's Travels"*, pp. 24–25.

¹⁸² Christianus Cilicius Cimber, *Belli Dithmarsici*, pp. 259–60.

¹⁸³ *Brave Danske Mænds*, 1:657.

¹⁸⁴ *Sigvard Grubbes dagbog*, p. 376.

¹⁸⁵ *Den danske Adel i det 16de og 17de Aarhundrede*, 2:2–20.

The noble Henrik Rantzau (1599–1674) visited Jerusalem and Egypt in 1623, but his travel account was first published in 1669.¹⁸⁶ He celebrated Easter in Jerusalem and afterwards he visited the many places of worship in and around the city. He was not knighted at the Holy Sepulchre, but his observations still point to some interesting features of what was deemed to be of interest for a noble and educated traveller in the seventeenth century. The great battle at Lepanto was remembered when they reached “Corsolari Isole where the Turk in 1571 lost a great battle against Don Gio di Austria” on the journey through the Aegean Sea. He mentions the fear of Turkish corsairs and then goes on to describe in some detail the clothes and weapons of the Turks. They sailed from Cyprus on 27 March and reached the shores of Lebanon on the 28th. From there, they followed the coast passing Tripoli, Sidon, and Tyre before reaching Acre “where the Templars once had their residence”. He spent time looking at what he believed to be the great ruins of the palace of the Grand Master of the Temple and the Church of Saint John. At the church of the Holy Sepulchre he saw the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I. The great heroes of the First Crusade were still remembered among the Danish nobility; perhaps he had even read about them in the chronicles of the First Crusade—either in manuscript form or as published by the French diplomat and historian Jacques Bongar. It is also very reasonable to think that he read about them in the great crusading poem *Gierusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso that came out in numerous translations—although not in Danish (until the nineteenth century).¹⁸⁷ Tasso’s poem was cited as a source for the history of the First Crusade well into the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁸ But many other possibilities are at ready at hand, like Carion’s *Weltchronik* or other historical works that he would undoubtedly have access to.¹⁸⁹ From Jerusalem, he moved on to Cairo. Near the hostel where he stayed was a church-tower, where Saint George was decapitated. He also went to see the saint’s tomb

¹⁸⁶ Henrik Rantzau 1669.

¹⁸⁷ Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*. Cf. Brand 1965, esp. pp. 54–55. For the crusade at Tasso’s time, see Housley 1992, pp. 118–150; Setton 1976–84, 4:829–1104. Cf. below for the chronicles of the crusade and Bongar.

¹⁸⁸ Siberry 2000; Siberry 2003.

¹⁸⁹ Johan Carion, *Chronica*, (1554), p. 208; (1595), pp. 145^v–147^v; Albert Krantz, *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarium*, p. 179; Cornelius Hamsfort [the Younger], *Rebus Holsatorum*, col. 1680 telling of Godfrey and the First Crusade. Krantz was later also quoted by Lambertus Alardus, *Nordalbingia*, cols. 1772–73 telling of Godfrey and the crusade.

outside of Cairo. To his great disappointment, he did not get to see any crocodiles or hippopotamuses. Both were supposed to be very tasty, as he comments. Generally, Rantzau shows great interest in fortifications. But he also describes in detail churches and mosques. He is a keen observer of customs and he reports a lot about animals. Rantzau seems much more a man of the world than a pilgrim in the 1669 version of his travel account. Only very few pilgrimage elements remains. These are interestingly those connected to the knightly Saint George and the heroes of the First Crusade, Godfrey and Baldwin.¹⁹⁰

Generally speaking, however, the travel accounts of Danish nobles of the sixteenth century do not differ substantially from those of their Catholic peers, and the sense of awe at being near the holiest places is genuinely expressed.¹⁹¹ Perhaps the best example is the account of the Jerusalem journey of the noble Otto Skram. It is now known through a number of manuscripts, most of them later (eighteenth century) copies and translations into Danish.¹⁹² Perhaps it was originally written in German. In 1587, he initiated the journey that would eventually take him to Jerusalem. First he went to Vienna, where he served in the expedition that was led by Archduke Maximillian of Austria into Poland. He describes in some detail the movements of the army, pitched battles, and other parts of life during a military campaign. In the end they are defeated and he is ordered to serve as guard at the border into Poland. He was given leave and moved on to Breslau and then to Prague before returning to Vienna. Still in the service of his master, he travelled to Italy in 1589 when the king of Spain hired people in Portugal. The same year, he returned to Vienna.

He then took leave and travelled in the company of the imperial envoy to Constantinople, where he stayed to 1591. In that year he travelled in the name of God with his three companions from Constantinople to Jerusalem as "pilgrims". He then gave a detailed description of his tour through the Holy City and its vicinity, faithfully reporting the exact location of the many Biblical events. Only in one place does a

¹⁹⁰ Could it be that special interest in Godfrey and Saint George might be an indication that Rantzau was in fact knighted at the Holy Sepulchre? Cf. below.

¹⁹¹ Cf. also *Christen Skeels Resedagbok*, who exalts in the many relics he encounters on his way through France. He visited, for instance, Saint Denis several times in order to see all that was kept there.

¹⁹² KB: GkS 3084 4^o; KB: Kallske Saml. 678 8^o. The letter is still found in a Latin version: KB: Kallske Saml. 128 2^o. Skram's travel account is partially published by Glarbo 1936–38, pp. 21–32 after the oldest transscript (KB: NkS 2121 4^o).

“si fides” creep into the narrative. Finally, he was knighted by “Pater Guardianus” named “Fr.: Franciscus ab Hyppello” as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. His letter of knighthood gave him the privilege to carry “the insignia and coat-of-arms of the Holy Cross, the Holy Sepulchre, and Saint George,¹⁹³ secretly and in public according to his own will. Hereafter, as a brave and legal knight he is privileged to enjoy and use all the liberties, rights, and privileges as other knights of the Holy Sepulchre usually do”.¹⁹⁴ These privileges are important and perhaps it is possible to identify more Protestant knights through the use of these symbols.

After Otto Skram had been knighted, he went on to visit other important places in the Holy Land. Then he travelled through Europe back to his fatherland Denmark. In some of the manuscripts the text is followed by a learned note concerning the identity of Otto Skram. The information is taken from the preface to the Law of Jutland, which was translated into German by Erik Krabbe in the sixteenth century but was only published by the historian, jurist, and statesman Peder Hansen Resen, in 1684. Resen tells that his brother Poul Resen went on a journey to Constantinople and the Holy Sepulchre. When he reached the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre, he was very well received and the monks played music for him. They believed he was fond of music because he carried a fiddle. In the evening, when he went to bed, he was placed in a room on the door of which was carved four letters and then “Ottho Schram Danus 1599”. Poul had promised his brother to write more of this when he reached Cairo, but unfortunately he died on the way from the Holy Sepulchre to Cairo in 1657. Peder Hansen Resen had personally read in an old genealogy that was owned by “Mr. Bircherod” of a noble named Otto Skram of Hammergaard,

¹⁹³ Cf. Mennenius, *Deliciae equestrum ordinum*, p. 42: “S. Crucis Sanctissimique Christi Sepulchri ac S. Georgii insignia deferre”.

¹⁹⁴ KB: GKS 3084 4^o, fols. 26^{r-v}: “Före det Hellige Korse[s]: NB! from KB: Kallske Saml. 678 8^o, fol. 131], den Hellige Gravs og Sti: Georgii insignia og Vaaben, hemmelig og offentlig, som det hannem selv got siynes, og Han her efter som en tapper og lovlig Ridder med billighed og ret at maa nyde og bruge alle de friiheder, Høiheder, og privilegier, som andre den Hellige Gravs riddere pleier at nyde og bruge”; KB: Kallske Saml. 128 2^o: “decernentes insuper Dominum Ottonem Schram à Dano, de cetero libere deferre posse, Sanctæ crucis, Sancti Sepulchri ac Sancti Georgii insignia, secrete aut publice, prout sibi videbitur, nec non in futurum ut verum ac legitimum Militem omni dignitate, Jure optimo frui valere ac debere, omnibus et singulis immunitatibus, præeminentiis ac privilegiis, quibus ceteri Milites Sancti Sepulchri uti ac frui consverere”.

who had travelled a lot, especially in the Orient. According to the old genealogy, he was stabbed to death in the streets of the Danish city of Viborg by a parish priest by the name of “Mr. Søren in Hornum”. Resen believed this to be the same Otto Skram who was mentioned by his brother and identified by later transcribers of the travel account with its author.¹⁹⁵

As Norman Housley has pointed out, the Holy Land became transplanted to the new national monarchies of the late medieval and renaissance Europe. The capitals of the new states that began to appear became seen as the New Jerusalems. This transplantation of the Holy Land did not mean that interest in the “real” holy places diminished—rather it helped keeping it alive. The role of the Holy Land as a *Patria communis*, however, declined towards the end of the sixteenth century and it simply became a destination for travellers.¹⁹⁶ The Danish travel-accounts seem to confirm this interpretation. As the scene for the passion of Christ it of course remained a place of central importance within the Protestant faith, but the pilgrimage elements in the Catholic sense naturally, if not disappearing completely, then waned after the Reformation. Being created a knight of the Holy Sepulchre, however, remained an attractive proposition to Protestant nobles. The legend told that the first knights of the Holy Sepulchre were created by Godfrey of Bouillon after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. This appealed to nobles on both sides of the confessional divide as it underlined the common struggle against the enemies of Christendom. Godfrey of Bouillon was one of the nine worthies that were also used as role models for young Lutheran nobles. It is an indication that crusading history and crusading heroes appealed to Lutheran nobles as champions of the faith.

Crusade in Literature and Print

As mentioned in chapter 1, the printing press was immediately used to print letters of indulgence and to propagandise crusades, and the first prints in Scandinavia were related to crusade propaganda.¹⁹⁷ The press was, of course, extremely well suited to spread propaganda, not least

¹⁹⁵ *Kong Valdemar Den Andens Jysk Low-Bog*, preface, not paginated.

¹⁹⁶ Housley 2000.

¹⁹⁷ Above pp. 75–76, 127–32.

through news-sheets that told of the war against the Turk in Hungary, Austria, the Mediterranean, and elsewhere—the so-called *Türkenbüchlein*.¹⁹⁸ These were also printed after the Reformation in Denmark. In the 1590s, Mads Vingaard in Copenhagen printed several.¹⁹⁹ Some were dedicated to noble ladies and put in verse to be sung to popular melodies like the one the priest in Finderup, Mads Sørensen, wrote and dedicated to the honest, pious, virtuous and God-fearing Margrethe Surs in Slagelse before going on to elaborate the Turkish atrocities, particularly against pregnant women and their unborn foetuses.²⁰⁰ [Cf. fig. 14a] The image of the Turk as the infidel scourge of God could also be used to portray the opposing sides in the wars between Denmark and Sweden. In a pamphlet originating in the chancery of the Swedish king Erik XIV from 1566, the Danish penetration into southern Sweden in campaigns conducted earlier in the war is described in vivid detail: The Danes plundered some villages with fire and murder and did to some poor girls things so dreadful that one has not heard of such cruel and barbaric behaviour even among the Turks.²⁰¹ The Swedes were probably no better. When the Judge Advocate General Tscherning visited the Danish sailors in Swedish captivity in 1659, he reported on their miserable condition. “There are some among them”, he wrote in his rapport, “who have been in prolonged Turkish captivity and they say that they would rather spend 10 years in Turkish imprisonment than 10 days in Swedish captivity”.²⁰²

Danes and Swedes also fought a war about history that it was actually sought to regulate with the 1570 peace settlement—with very little success. A highly anti-Swedish poem *Margaretica* was written by the Danish historian and professor of theology at the University in Copenhagen Erasmus Lætus (1526–1582) in 1573.²⁰³ Among other things he lamented that Danes and Swedes fought each other when they ought to fight against “Ottoman’s off-spring . . . this people from hell itself that

¹⁹⁸ See e.g. Bohnstedt 1968; Göllner 1961–78. Cf. Moxey 1989.

¹⁹⁹ Göllner 1961–78, 2:479–80, 508–9.

²⁰⁰ *En Merckelig Historisk Vise*; Göllner 1961–78, 2:508.

²⁰¹ Skovgaard-Petersen 1987.

²⁰² *Danske Magazin*, ser. 5, 6 (1905), p. 157 n. 4.

²⁰³ Skovgaard-Petersen 1988. The basic biography of Lætus is still Rørdam, 2:462–86 and the introduction to *Erasmus Lætus’ skrift*. Lætus studied first in Rostock and later in Wittenberg under Melancthon. Skovgaard-Petersen interprets the poem as a continuation of the literary feud between Denmark and Sweden that was actually one of the reasons behind the war and that had been prohibited by the peace settlement in 1570, cf. E. Jørgensen 1960, pp. 85–88.

in the cruellest way ravaged the peoples around the Black Sea so the corpses piled up in that inhuman war".²⁰⁴ Naturally, the idea was that once again the Swedes got in the way of a common front against the Turks. But more revealing is the interest in the history of the crusade and crusading heroes.

As mentioned in chapter 2, the Franciscans translated *Mandeville's Travels* into Danish in the middle of the fifteenth century. The surviving manuscript copies all date from the second half of the sixteenth century, witnessing the continued interest in the story. As in the original, the introduction to the Danish version exhorted to renewed war against the Turks in order to win back Jerusalem. Special focus was given to Ogier the Dane's deeds as champion of Christendom. He became a role model, as Charlemagne, Roland and Godfrey of Bouillon were in Europe in general even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to crusaders like the conqueror of Mexico, Hernan Cortez, and other nobles.²⁰⁵

Charlemagne had a special role as a champion of the faith, both in the chronicles of the First Crusade as well as in popular legends. In 1165, he was canonized and his role as a champion of the faith was underlined both during the translation ceremony as well as in the *vita* that was produced.²⁰⁶ In the Late Middle Ages, Charlemagne's role in this respect was as important as ever. Charles VIII envisaged himself as a new Charlemagne, raised from childhood with romances and stories from the East. According to Kenneth Setton, his Italian campaign in 1494–95 was not just an attempt to conquer the Italian realms he believed were rightfully his, but also to secure Naples and other South-Italian ports that were to function as a bridgehead for crusades against the Turks, and the publicists of the French kings in the first decades of the sixteenth century stressed that they were the true heirs of the crusade.²⁰⁷ These plans were also taken seriously by the Turkish sultan who interrogated the German pilgrim Arnald von Harff

²⁰⁴ Skovgaard-Petersen 1988, pp. 42–43.

²⁰⁵ The expansion in the new world and India and Asia in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century was also legitimized as crusades. Cortez wrote letters in which he compared himself and his struggles to those of Roland, he was obsessed with conversion, and his army carried banners of the cross, cf. Goodman 1998; Housley 1992, p. 312.

²⁰⁶ Cf. J. M. Jensen 2003a.

²⁰⁷ Setton 1992, pp. 19–21; Heath 1986, pp. 9, 51–52. Cf. also Setton 1974–81, 2:448–507.

to learn if the “lord of France” was his master, and also “whether he [the lord of France] was strong in men and weapons, and whether he had conquered many countries that year, and what his plans were”. “I knew”, Arnold wrote, “because I had heard that all countries on the other side of the sea were disturbed because King Charles of France had captured Naples, Apulia, and Calabria the year before, and that he intended this year to march against heathen countries and take the Holy Land, and that indeed in heathendom and in Turkey, as I had seen, the people were in a great uproar through fear”. He therefore “partially lied” to the sultan and said that he knew nothing of plans of the king of France.²⁰⁸

At the death of Charles VIII, the prophecies concerning the last emperor and a new Charlemagne were transferred to Charles V, who it was believed would bring peace to Christendom and then punish the Turks.²⁰⁹ In his capacity as a champion of the faith, Charlemagne’s war against the Turks—as for instance published in Danish by Christiørn Pedersen—of course also appealed to a Lutheran audience. Several followers of Luther also predicted the immanent destruction of the Turks through a new great crusade foretold in another prophecy that became widely disseminated throughout the century when it circulated in a vernacular version.²¹⁰ When Christiørn Pedersen published his *Chronicle of Ogier the Dane* in 1534, he expressed the hope that the work would inspire young Danish nobles to war.²¹¹ We know that it did. Henrik Holck studied in Sedan in 1618 together with numerous other young Lutheran nobles who prepared to fight for the evangelical union in the wars of religion, but he ended up as imperial field marshal 25 years later. As a child he always played ‘Christians and Turks’—war-games—inspired by “*The Chronicle of Ogier the Dane* and ballads telling of the adventures of old heroes” as was reported in a eulogy.²¹²

Beside the adventures of *Ogier the Dane* other books, which could be termed crusade literature, were being read, like for instance the chronicles of the First Crusade. Several were being translated into the vernaculars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There was a special

²⁰⁸ *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, p. 103.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Bosbach 2002; Niccoli 1990, pp. 170–75.

²¹⁰ Cf. Lerner 1983, pp. 152–87, esp. pp. 158–70.

²¹¹ Christiørn Pedersen, *Kong Olger Danskes Krønike*, pp. 134–35.

²¹² Gjellerup 1884, pp. 648–49.

interest in the chronicle of Robert of Rheims as seen in chapter 1.²¹³ The publication and compilation of crusade texts was often intended to arouse renewed crusades against the Turks.²¹⁴ For example when Robert's chronicle was translated into German as late as 1584 in an anonymous work whose main aim was to call to resistance against the Turks and encourage re-conquest of the lands lost to the Turks.²¹⁵ It also served as one of several sources for the German *Zimmerische Chronik*, written by the count of Zimmern, Froben Christoph (1519–66) in the sixteenth century telling of his family ancestors' as well as a number of German nobles' participation in the First Crusade. As Alan Murray has argued, Froben Christoph's information about the German participation "is dubious in the extreme". But he is testimony to the "perception of the First Crusade in Germany in the late medieval and early modern period" in face of the Turkish advances, when he turned "the genesis of the entire crusading movement into an enterprise initiated by a faithful servant of the German emperor, in which the bravest and best fighters were German".²¹⁶ In Denmark, historians of the sixteenth century did not have to invent Danish heroes who took part in the First Crusade.

In 1584, the Danish historian Anders Sørensen Vedel wrote a preface in Latin to a twelfth century copy of the chronicle of Robert of Rheims that he planned to publish. There can be no doubt that the purpose of his publication of Robert's chronicle was to incite to war against the Turks! Apparently his work was never published but the foreword still exists in manuscript bound together with the chronicle.²¹⁷ Robert's chronicle was found in Scandinavia in at least two twelfth-century versions, one of which perhaps (cf. chapter 1) had served as propaganda for the crusade against the Wends in the twelfth century. Now the same manuscript was used to inspire young Lutheran nobles to fight against the Turks.²¹⁸ Vedel also had two printed versions at his disposal, which

²¹³ Kraft 1905; Haupt 1972. Cf. above chapter 1, esp. at pp. 127–29.

²¹⁴ Cf. for instance *A Lytell Cronycle*; Tyerman 1998, pp. 104–5.

²¹⁵ Haupt 1972, p. 227. Cf. Tyerman 1998, pp. 105–6. The work was edited by Reinier Reineck (1541–95).

²¹⁶ Murray 1997, pp. 91–92. Cf. Murray 2002.

²¹⁷ UUB: C691. Edited by E. Jørgensen 1909–11, pp. 777–85 and in RHC Occ., 3: lii–lv. I would like to thank Karen Skovgaard-Petersen for initially providing me with a copy of the manuscript.

²¹⁸ KB: GkS 2159 4^o (from Bordesholm); UUB: C691 (owned in the sixteenth century by the Danish royal chancellor Johan Friis).

he compared with his manuscript. He dedicated his work to a young noble named Erik, probably the alchemist Erik Lange, and encouraged him to follow the example set by the first crusaders when they won the palms of martyrdom in the Holy Land in battle against the Turks.

This would not at all have been a strange thought for a young Lutheran noble. As seen above, Martin Luther promised that those who died in battle against the Turk would become martyrs and saints. He claimed that if you went to war in obedience to your lord at God's will and command, you would become the executioner of God and your hand and lance would be the hand and lance of God.²¹⁹ It was only natural that this idea would develop into the general concept that death in war for the *patria* would lead to martyrdom.²²⁰ It surfaces in a broad range of different sources in Denmark, like the old folk ballads that became extremely popular among the nobility towards the end of the sixteenth century.²²¹ Another example would be rhymed family chronicles like *Billeslægtens Rimkrønike* [*The Rhymed Chronicle of the Bille Family*], written by the poet and historian C. C. Lyschander at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It assured the reader that if you died in war against the Swedes you would become a martyr and go straight to heaven.²²²

The theme of martyrdom and the war against the Turk was also expressed in church art. We have already discussed the tabernacle on Iceland from 1650. Another fascinating example is the tabernacle from the Norwegian Ringsaker Church. The church was placed on one the main arteries of communication in Norway in a north-south direction. Originally, it belonged to the bishopric of Hamar but from 1539 this was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Oslo. The tabernacle was produced in Antwerp around 1530 and was donated to the church as a votive gift by the parish priest in Ringsaker and prominent canon in Hamar of noble family, Arnstein Jonsson (Skanke).²²³ The doors of the tabernacle are dominated by scenes of martyrdom and the motifs have been interpreted as an expression of fear of the Turks in the light

²¹⁹ Martin Luther, *Heerpredigt wider den Türken*, p. 174.

²²⁰ Cf. Housley 2000.

²²¹ Cf. Anders Sørensen Vedel, *Hundredvisebog*. On the folksongs, see *Svøbt i mår*.

²²² C. C. Lyschander, *Billeslægtens Rimkrønike*, p. 86. See also C. C. Lyschander, *Carmen Elegiacum*, pp. 24–25.

²²³ Lavold 2003. I am indebted to Bente Lavold for sending a copy of her article to me and drawing my attention to this piece of evidence.

of their advances in the early sixteenth century.²²⁴ On the outside of the northern door the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian is depicted, the saint is pierced by arrows shot by a Turk. In the branches of the tree to which Saint Sebastian is tied is painted a red coat of arms with a golden Jerusalem Cross, which was the mark of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and associated with Godfrey of Bouillon—and of course the symbol of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre [see fig. 15].²²⁵ This coat of arms is not otherwise known from Norway.²²⁶ It naturally underlines the crusade context of all of the motif. The tabernacle is fascinating evidence of the use of crusade motifs to adorn a Norwegian church just before the Reformation.

Norway, of course, had its own place in the history of the crusades, which could also be used to underline a sense of national pride in the sixteenth century. In the priest Absalon Pedersen's *Description of Norway* dating from 1567, he wrote of "the manhood" of Norway, which was in the Middle Ages, "when she carried a crown on her head and a golden lion with a blood-axe". She went to war all over Europe—"not only against Denmark and Sweden, but against England, Scotland, Flanders, the Netherlands, and in other places. She went into France conquered Paris, burned Troyes, Toulouse, and Verdun, marched through France and into Italy where she won the wonderful kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, Apulia, Calabria.... She then stretched out her hands, power, and might into the Mediterranean, where King Sigurd...called the Jorsalafarer went to the Promised Land to win it back from the infidel Saracens". According to Absalon Pedersen, Sigurd took part in the siege of Sidon in 1101 [sic] with a fleet of warships. The popes of Rome sent their ambassadors and letters to the kings of Norway asking for help against the Saracens and Turks. From this "you can easily understand how great and powerful the might of Norway have been right to the end of the world". Norway had contacts with the "Sultans of Tunis and Egypt" and sent them rare and precious products, and the pope found in Norway "a solid rock" against the German emperors "according to Flavio Biondo and others".²²⁷

²²⁴ Ytreberg 1978.

²²⁵ Menneius, *Deliciae equestrum ordinum*, pp. 39–42, 46.

²²⁶ Lavold 2003, pp. 103, 110–11; Ytreberg 1978. Was Arnstein a knight of the Holy Sepulchre?

²²⁷ Absalon Pedersen, *Norges Beskrivelse*, pp. 42–43.

Arnstein Jonsson, who commissioned the Ringsaker tabernacle, probably died in 1547. An undated note in the archives of the diocese of Hamar states that he was sent on a three-year journey abroad to gain proper knowledge of the Lutheran faith.²²⁸ He would have found nothing to counter the purpose and message of the motifs. The themes of martyrdom in the light of the Turkish advances would of course fit perfectly into Luther's writings on the war against the Turks and would be as relevant after the Reformation as before. It was therefore in no way strange that Anders Sørensen Vedel should encourage a young Danish nobleman to fight against the Turks to become a martyr, or that he should take the first crusaders as an example. Among those was a very good example that Vedel especially told Erik to follow: The story of the Danish Prince Svend.

Prince Svend

According to the German chronicler Albert of Aachen, who wrote his chronicle of the First Crusade at the beginning of the twelfth century on the basis of testimonies of returned crusaders, the Danish Prince Svend died in an ambush together with his Burgundian fiancée Florina and 1500 men in Asia Minor on his way to Jerusalem during the First Crusade.²²⁹ The story was made famous in the sixteenth century by the crusading poem *Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso, which was considered an authoritative source for the First Crusade.²³⁰ In forewords to the various editions and translations of the poem it was hoped that this story would "once more inspire to erect the theatre of Mars at the gates of Jerusalem".²³¹ Tasso described how the sword of Prince Svend was found after the battle by a Danish knight named Karlo. He passed it on to Godfrey of Bouillon, who in turn gave it to a German knight by the name of Rinaldo, ordering him to revenge the death of Svend. This Rinaldo set out to do and in his hand the sword of Svend became the first Christian sword to enter the walls of Jerusalem when the city fell to the crusaders in 1099. The story gave Denmark a special role

²²⁸ Lavold 2003, p. 104.

²²⁹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 376–77. Albert's chronicle was edited by Jacques Bongar in 1611. Cf. K. V. Jensen 2001; J. M. Jensen 2000, pp. 295–96.

²³⁰ Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, chan. 8, st. 2–42. Cf. above p. 306 nn. 187–88.

²³¹ *Godfrey of Boulogne or The Recouerie of Ierusalem*, introduction, not paginated. Cf. Tyerman 1988, p. 369.

in the history of the First Crusade which was fully exploited during the reign of Christian IV.

The Order of the Armed Arm

Before 1642 Christian IV had the scene of the recovery of the sword from the hands of the dead Prince Svend depicted in a great painting [see fig. 16].²³² In 1616 a miniature sword was given to twelve Danish nobles who had distinguished themselves in the battle of Kalmar in southern Sweden in 1613,²³³ when Christian IV founded a new knightly order called the Armed Arm. Its symbol was an arm clad in armour holding a sword [see fig. 17]. It is very likely that this sword represented the sword of prince Svend. On a medal struck in 1625, the Armed Arm is shown standing on a bible with a lit candle symbolizing the evangelical light with the words *pro religione et libertate* engraved around it and on the other side a picture of Christian IV [see fig. 18].²³⁴ The knighting ceremony is described by the priest and writer Niels Heldvad (1564–1634):²³⁵ The first to be knighted was the chancellor Christian Friis to Borreby. A herald asked him “Christian IV wants to make you a knight for your manly and chivalrous deeds, which you performed during the war with Sweden”. Then Christian Friis respectfully stepped forward and knelt before the king. The king then dubbed him with a “richly endowed” sword, first on the right shoulder, then on the head and the left shoulder, and afterwards handed him the collar of the order. Then the herald proclaimed: “Nun hat S. K. M. Christian Friis würdig geachtet und zum Ritter geschlagen” to the sound of trumpets and drums.²³⁶ Then the same was repeated for the others in turn.

A knightly order fighting for the Protestant cause was in no way inconceivable. As Christoph Maier has pointed out, the military orders

²³² *Christian IV og Europa*, pp. 102–3. In a letter dated 2 February 1642, the learned Stephanus mentions a recent discussion with Ole Worm concerning the identity of Svend, whom he believes to be a grandson of Svend Estridsen (1056–1076), *Breve fra og til Ole Worm*, 2:317–18 (no. 1001).

²³³ Cf. also Bircherod 1706.

²³⁴ Reproduced in Schlegel 1771 facing p. 396; J. M. Jensen 2004a, p. 10.

²³⁵ That the sword is the sword of Prince Svend has also been suggested by H. D. Schepelern in *Christian IV og Europa*, pp. 155–56. Cf. A. S. Christensen 1999, p. 36.

²³⁶ Cf. Schlegel 1771, pp. 58–61 where the name of the eleven other knights are also given. The description is found in KB: Thott. 797 2° a copy of the *Danish Rhymed Chronicle*, fol. 256^r.

were considered orders of worldly chivalry as much as religious orders of the church on both sides of the confessional divide. In addition, they fought not only for the defence of the Catholic Church, but also for the whole of Christian Europe.²³⁷ Shortly after the battle of Lepanto, Erasmus Lætus, whom we met earlier, wrote to the Grand Master of the Knights of Saint John on Malta and warned him of the dangers of fighting for the Catholic faith. He explained that the reason for the Turkish power and advances was the contempt shown for the word of God and outright insults to his son, Jesus Christ, by which he meant Catholicism. The Order had so far been successful in defeating its enemies. The knights had to understand this as an expression of God's unique mercy towards them, for which they should realize their enormous debt to God. He then encouraged them to fight for Protestantism instead of error and idolatry. Then, he assured them, they would feel the salvation of God's presence, and then the freedom of a clear conscience would strengthen them in combat. Then Christ would support their plans, and then the faith in the Son of God would bring the enemy to fall and take away his strength.²³⁸ Although the Knights did not mend their ways, Protestant nobles from Denmark fought in the service of the Knights of Saint John against the Turks well into the seventeenth century.

The Knights of Saint John in Scandinavia

The Knights of Saint John came to Denmark during the reign of Valdemar I around 1170 and probably played a role in the Baltic crusades of the Danish kings. In the Late Middle Ages they played a role in preaching the crusade in Scandinavia, and the hospital function of the Order was, of course, an important part of its work in Scandinavia all through the Middle Ages.²³⁹ Its military role is it more difficult to estimate. Only on one occasion do the sources mention knightly brethren. In 1417, a note in the letter-book of the Grand Master states that the prior of Dacia, Hemming Laurentzen, was allowed to receive six noblemen into the Order as knightly brethren (*fratres milites*). These

²³⁷ Maier 1998, pp. 358–59, 362.

²³⁸ *Erasmus Lætus' skrift*, pp. 334–37.

²³⁹ Nyberg 1990; Reitzel-Nielsen 1984–91; Reitzel-Nielsen 1976 [about a third of the book is devoted to the early history of the order]; Hatt Olsen 1962; Hatt Olsen 1960.

noblemen, born in lawful wedlock, were accepted provided they would proceed to the convent of Rhodes with horses and arms if necessary.²⁴⁰ The Order also contributed to what is perhaps a unique Danish facet of the international crusade movement: When a new brother entered the monastery at Antvorskov, it was celebrated with the customary "crusade beer" (*kors øll*).²⁴¹

The Order was very popular with the kings, who all renewed its privileges right down to the Reformation.²⁴² The monastery of Antvorskov was the richest of all monasteries in Denmark, second only to the Cistercian Abbey of Sorø at the Reformation.²⁴³ Although the head-quarters of the Order in Scandinavia, Antvorskov, was made a royal fief at the Reformation and the Church of the monastery went into decay, several houses functioned for more than fifty years after 1536.²⁴⁴ The Order still appealed to the Lutheran nobles, and Malta was a popular station for young Danish nobles on their educational travels around Europe.²⁴⁵

Christian Friis to Borreby (1556–1616), who later became Christian IV's chancellor, visited Malta in 1579 during a stay in Padua. He actually became *lensmand* at Antvorskov in 1589. Jacob Ulfeldt (1567–1630) also visited Malta between 1588 and 1592 on a journey that included visits to Constantinople, Rhodes, Cyprus, Syria and Egypt. When the later bishop of Copenhagen Hans Resen had to flee for his life from Turkish corsairs in the 1590s, he was on his way to see the residence of the Knights of Saint John on Malta.²⁴⁶ Henrik Ernst (1603–65), who was learned in law, travelled to Malta in 1630 and the scholar Thomas Batholin, whom we shall meet again later, visited the island around 1644. In 1699, the noble Frederik Rostgaard (1671–1745) also visited the residence of the Knights. Several nobles took an active part in the Knights' war with the infidels. As mentioned above Jacob Ulfeldt fought in the Order's ranks against the Turks. So did the nobles

²⁴⁰ Hatt Olsen 1962, pp. 26–27. Cf. Retzeil-Nielsen 1976, p. 34; Reitzel-Nielsen 1984–91, 2:103.

²⁴¹ *Dueholms Diplomatarium*, pp. 23–24 (no. 36), at p. 23.

²⁴² Cf. Reitzel-Nielsen 1976, pp. 35–40.

²⁴³ Reitzel-Nielsen 1976.

²⁴⁴ Reitzel-Nielsen 1984–91, 2:211–61. Among the early evangelical preachers in Denmark were several Knights of Saint John, the most influential and famous of which was Hans Tausen, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 226–33.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Reitzel-Nielsen 1984–91, 2:468–83.

²⁴⁶ *Brave Danske Mænds*, 2:142. On the following individuals, cf. the articles in DBL Bricka and DBL Bech.

Christian Skeel (1623–88), who took part in a six weeks expedition at sea in 1648, and Christian Nielsen Holberg (†1686), who took service with both the Knights and the Venetians against the Turks in the 1650s. And in 1677, Frederik Walter (1649–1718) also fought with the Knights against the Muslims.

The religious military orders thus continued to have an influence upon the minds of Lutheran nobles well into the seventeenth century. Christoph Maier's explanation is underlined for the seventeenth century by the English historian of the Order of the Garter and freemason, Elias Ashmole, whose work was published in 1672. He argued that the religious military orders were founded for numerous and different reasons, but the principal were these: First, to perfect and praise sincere love of honour. Second, to offer protection from the incursions and robberies of Saracens and barbarians, to repel the violence and cruelty thereof, to vindicate the oppressed, redeem the injured and enslaved, to give entertainment and relief to pilgrims and strangers, like the Hospitallers, Templars and Knights of Saint James. Third, defence of the Christian faith against pagans and infidels, to propagate Christian territories and to promote the service of the Catholic Church. These were the main reasons that engaged them to do famous things in the cause of religion: "So that their holy zeal may be said to have very far contributed to the propagation and advancement of the Christian Profession; since generally the Knights of these Orders have employ'd themselves in the service of God, and spent their blood in the defence of his Faith, against Saracens, Turks, and Unbelievers".²⁴⁷ Lastly, when the sovereign princes found themselves embroiled in wars or danger a fourth reason was added: they should be a mediator to restore peace and end jealousy and create alliances of lasting friendship and powerful assistance. And just as the military orders created in Europe were instituted to serve the kings and princes in political matters, some of them even with the explicit purpose of fighting against the Turks, so were the orders founded in Denmark.

²⁴⁷ Ashmole 1672, p. 48.

Orders of Chivalry in Denmark

We know very little of the Danish knightly orders in the fifteenth century. A Royal order existed during the reign of Erik of Pomerania, which was granted to the travelling crusader Ghillebert de Lannoy in 1413 when he passed through Denmark on his way to Livonia to fight in the *Reysen* of the Teutonic Knights. He declined the offer, however, because Erik and the Knights were enemies at the time.²⁴⁸ The Order itself expressed concern with the many Livonian nobles who carried “des koninges geselschaft von Denemarken” in 1421.²⁴⁹ Erik of Pomerania took a great interest in chivalrous orders in general.²⁵⁰ Erik received the Order of the Garter in 1404 when he was married to the English Princess Philippa and in 1419 he received the Order of the Dragon of King Sigismund. According to Mennenius *Deliciæ Equestrum*, the Order of the Dragon was founded to conduct crusades against the Turks and the Hussites.²⁵¹ A renegade Premonstratensian preached to the Hussites that Sigismund was the red beast of the Apocalypse, referring to the Order of the Dragon instituted by Sigismund to fight the Hussites.²⁵² It was also granted to Christopher of Bavaria, who as seen also took part in the Hussite crusades as well as to the maternal uncle of King Christian I, Duke Adolph of Schleswig and Holstein.²⁵³

The Order of the Elephant

At least from 1457, a Danish Order—or confraternity—existed that had Christian I as its head. That year it was granted to Paulus Justinianus and Geminianus of Treviso in connection with his efforts to win support for his northern crusade policies.²⁵⁴ In 1459, a chapel was founded to house the royal order in Roskilde, dedicated to the Holy Trinity,

²⁴⁸ *Oeuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, pp. 20–24, at p. 24; SRP, 3:444. Cf. for the following Bartholdy 1993 and above chapter 1.

²⁴⁹ LEKU, 5:711–13 (no. 2528), at p. 712.

²⁵⁰ A frieze uncovered in a hall at Kronborg Castle depicts the imaginary coat of arms of Christ with the instruments of the passion surrounded by the coat of arms of Erik of Pomerania and his queen and nineteen other leading nobles and ecclesiastics of Denmark and Norway. It has tentatively been suggested that it this hall might have served as meeting place for the order of Erik, Reitzel-Nielsen 1976, p. 39. For the frieze, see Verwohlt 1960, p. 35; Dahlerup 2003, p. 123.

²⁵¹ Mennenius, *Deliciæ equestrum*, pp. 155–57.

²⁵² Aschbach 1838–45, 3:56–57.

²⁵³ Werlauff 1849, p. 74.

²⁵⁴ Suhm 1779–84, 1/3:99–102. Cf. above, chapter 1.

the Virgin Mary, Saint Anna, the Three Magi's and All Saints, which received papal privileges in 1462.²⁵⁵ Its collar was formed of golden elephants with a pendant depicting Saint Mary and the three nails of the crucifixion. Filippo Nuvolini described it in his laudatory poem and praised the king for having used the image of the Virgin, the three nails of Christ, and the crown of Jesus, instead of other princes who used boars, dragons, eagles, and ravens.²⁵⁶ He then asked to receive the Order, which was immediately granted. Nuvolini died four years later in Venice after having fought bravely in the war against the Turks, carrying the Danish royal order into battle.²⁵⁷

Royal orders and confraternities were founded in large numbers in the fifteenth century and many could have influenced the creation of Christian I's order, most obviously for example the Orders of the Garter and the Golden Fleece. Both Werlauff and Bartholdy, however, also point to the order created by Christian I's father-in-law, Elector Johann of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, the Order of the Swan. The Danish Order was probably conceived of as an order for the whole of the newly re-established Kalmar Union, which was to bind the members of the nobility in the various countries closer to the king. When receiving the order, the knights had to swear an oath by the three national saints of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden: Saint Knud, Saint Olaf, and Saint Erik. But as suggested by Werlauff, it is possible that at the same time the order had a purpose similar to that of the Golden Fleece, created to conduct crusades against the Turks, as "after the year 1457 when the confraternity of Roskilde is mentioned for the first time [Christian I] had joined the negotiations between the emperor and the pope concerning a crusade against the infidels?"²⁵⁸ The use of the elephant in the collar also points in that direction. According to its role in the Book of Maccabees, the war-elephant was interpreted as a symbol of the champion of the faith, who became incensed at the sight of the blood of Christ. At the Feast of the Pheasant in 1454, when Philip the Good of Burgundy and many other nobles vowed to go on a crusade against the Turks, the symbol of a woman standing in a tower carried

²⁵⁵ *Diplomatarium Christianni I*, pp. 107–8, 159–63 (no. 86, 122). Cf. Paludan-Müller 1880–81, pp. 300–2. The documents relating to the order and the chapel have also been printed in Suhm 1779–84, 1/1:60–69.

²⁵⁶ Etting, Signorini & Werdelin 1984, p. 70: "porcum, serpentem, aquilam, corvum".

²⁵⁷ Etting, Signorini & Werdelin 1984, p. 34.

²⁵⁸ Werlauff 1872, p. 35.

by an elephant was displayed representing the Holy Church.²⁵⁹ Emperor Frederick III also founded a military Order of Saint George in 1469 with the very explicit purpose of fighting the Turks.²⁶⁰

On the basis of its political purposes it also worthwhile to point to the contemporary French order of Saint Michael founded a few years later, which besides obligating the members to fight for the true faith was a political instrument, both internally in the realm and in relations with foreign powers.²⁶¹ King Hans became a knight of Saint Michael. Christian II was a knight of the Golden Fleece whose collar he wore both as a Catholic and as a Lutheran,²⁶² but both Frederik I and Christian III became knights of Saint Michael, as did Frederik II. A beautiful copy of its statutes dating from the end of the fifteenth century was found in the library in Gottorp.²⁶³ Gustav Vasa of Sweden also became a knight at the same ceremony as Christian III, which caused the Emperor Charles V to give his collar back, 42 years after having received it from Francis I: He gave it back "not for political reasons", as he claimed, "but because the order had taken in heretics".²⁶⁴

The Danish order probably ceased to be used because Christian II took it with him into exile and continued to grant it to his supporters. Initial steps to have it revived were taken during the reign of Christian III. The last Catholic bishop of Århus, Ove Bilde, wrote to the chancellor of Christian III concerning the Order of the Elephant in 1546. He had been asked through his brother Esge Bilde if there existed any kind of register or letters concerning this order "which lords and kings in this kingdom used to grant".²⁶⁵ What was known at the time was that Pope Sixtus IV, during Christian I's pilgrimage to Rome, had granted the king the right to create an order "in memoriam Domini Salvatoris nostri" for the foundation of the chapel in Roskilde "that is now called the chapel of the Three Magi's or the king's chapel".²⁶⁶ He was allowed to accept both men and women into the order, who

²⁵⁹ Bartholdy 1993, pp. 29–31.

²⁶⁰ Koller 1980, esp. pp. 421–26.

²⁶¹ Vetter 1979.

²⁶² *Das Statutenbuch des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies*, fol. 98'. Cf. Lausten 1995, pp. 333–40.

²⁶³ KB: GkS 401 2°.

²⁶⁴ Vetter 1979, pp. 44–46.

²⁶⁵ The letter is printed in *Dänische Bibliothec*, 2 (1738), pp. 106–9 with a German translation, pp. 109–12; Münter 1822, pp. 112–14. A Latin translation is found in Bircherod 1706, pp. 32–33.

²⁶⁶ *Dänische Bibliothec*, 2 (1738), pp. 106–7.

should carry the insignia (“selschab”) of an elephant with a pendant depicting the bloody crown of thorns and the three nails, and to grant them certain privileges and indulgences. The members of the order were obliged to serve God through alms and masses in remembrance of His death and sufferings “and other articles that can no longer be remembered”.²⁶⁷ It was, however, left to Christian III’s son to revive the order around 1570, when it became known as the Order of the Elephant. Its symbolic meaning in connection with fighting for the faith fitted perfectly into the Protestant princely ideology. It is therefore not surprising that Protestant princes also could become members of Catholic knightly orders. In 1575, the Swedish King Johan III became a member of the Order of Saint Michael, taking the oath with a hand on the Bible “upon his faith”.²⁶⁸ He had founded a Swedish knightly order called *Salvatorsordenen*, which at least in the late seventeenth century was believed to have been founded to oppose the Russians.²⁶⁹ It is thus not surprising that Frederik II revived the Order of the Elephant in the 1570s or that it should have some connection to fighting for the faith. This royal order later swallowed other orders like The Armed Arm. The insignia designed for Christian IV still depicted the Armed Arm, though, and the Armed Arm was given again in 1633 and 1634 [see fig. 19].

There can be no doubt that the origin of the Danish order is to be linked to Christian I. In the seventeenth century, however, it was believed that the Order of the Elephant was much older and originated in the history of the crusades to the Holy Land. In the third quarter of the seventeenth century, Ivar Nielsen Hertzholm (1635–93) was working on a history of the Order of the Elephant. His work was known to

²⁶⁷ *Dänische Bibliothec*, 2 (1738), p. 108.

²⁶⁸ Vetter 1979, pp. 63, 181–82. It makes Vetter exclaim: “Der Schwede war Protestant!” and believes it to be another indication that confessional issues had been surpassed by political.

²⁶⁹ Tengström 1997, 2:49–63. For the identification of Russians with heathens in general and Turks in particular in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, cf. *ibid.*, 1:145–201. In the seventeenth century the Birgittine Order was believed to be a knightly order, cf. *ibid.*, 2:49–50. In Ashmole’s work on knightly orders from 1672 he claimed: “The sum of their Profession was to defend Christian Religion against Hereticks, to secure the Confines of that Kingdom, to bury the dead, to succour the Widows and Fatherless, and to keep up Hospitality”. “The chief Ensign of this Order, was a Blue Octogonal Cross, and under it a Tongue of Fire”, which was a symbol of love and charity. They were very zealous in defending the holy faith and in maintaining the statutes of the order, Ashmole 1672, p. 87.

the English order-historian and freemason, Elias Ashmole, who was informed that a certain “Ivarus Nicholai Hertzholm, a learned Dane”, had written a treatise on the order, which was not yet published. It would prove that the origin was much older than the letter of Ove Bilde made it appear.²⁷⁰ “The Badge was an Ensign meerly Military, anciently given as a memorial and incitement to the Danish Princes, who took upon them the defence of Christianity against the Moors and Africans”.²⁷¹ Ashmole expressed the hope that the book would be published shortly after, but the wish was not immediately fulfilled. A history of the order was not published until 1706, when Janus Bircherod published his *Breviarium Equestre* based on the unpublished manuscript of Hertzholm.²⁷² He stated—what was already known to Ashmole—that it was commonly agreed that the Order originated “ex Cruciata, seu sacris Danorum expeditionibus in Palæstinam”.²⁷³ Hertzholm quoted an “ancient manuscript” that related how a Norwegian killed an elephant during one of the crusades.²⁷⁴ It was then used as a symbol among the Scandinavian participants as a symbol for their group.²⁷⁵ Bircherod did not find reason to doubt this interpretation but considered the possibility that the order was founded as a royal order by King Knud VI (1182–1202) in 1188 in commemoration of Danish participation in the Holy Land crusades. Instead of going to the Holy Land, he went to Livonia.²⁷⁶

Others did not agree with Hertzholm, that the Order originated with Danish participation in the crusades, however. The scholar Wilhelm Worm wrote in a letter dated 1683 that the crusades went to areas which were not the natural habitats of elephants: “Estland, Liefland, Vandalos och in terram sanctam, hvoer dette diuer icke er gemeent” [Estonia, Livonia, Spain and the Holy Land where this animal is not commonly found].²⁷⁷ He placed the origin of the order to the reign of

²⁷⁰ For the origin, Ashmole quoted Ove Bille’s letter to Christian III of 1537, a copy of which he had received through Christian Lindenow who was the ambassador of Christian V, Ashmole 1672, p. 120. Lindenow probably also provided the information concerning Hertzholm’s treatise.

²⁷¹ Ashmole 1672, p. 121.

²⁷² Bircherod 1706.

²⁷³ Bircherod 1706, pp. 65–66 and cf. also “præfatio”, not paginated and p. 4.

²⁷⁴ Bircherod 1706, p. 60. Cf. Pontoppidan 1740–41, 1:53–55, esp. p. 54; Münter 1822, p. 40.

²⁷⁵ Bircherod 1706, pp. 65–66; V. Simonsen 1813, p. 208.

²⁷⁶ Bircherod 1706, pp. 72–73.

²⁷⁷ Suhm 1779–84, 1/3:91.

Frederik II, which was also argued in 1742 by the Danish historian of the nobility and heraldic expert Terkel Klevenfeldt (1710–77) in a letter to the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs Johan Bernsdorff (1712–72).²⁷⁸ Hertzholm's thesis, however, was widely accepted. The professor in mythology and art history at the University of Copenhagen Abraham Kall (1743–1821) elaborated on the thesis in an unpublished work on the origin of the order to the effect that the “most likely” explanation for the use of the elephant is Danish participation at the conquest of Nicea in 1097. After the battle, Godfrey of Bouillon distributed medals of honour carrying a picture of an elephant, which was the symbol of the city.²⁷⁹ The thesis was accepted by the historian Vedel Simonsen in his work from 1813 on Danish participation in the crusades, but considered unlikely by Frederik Münter in his book on the knightly orders in Denmark from 1822, although “Danes undoubtedly took part in the siege”.²⁸⁰ Münter, however, thought it very reasonable to look for the origin of the order in the crusades, if not directly then allegorically. This has become the prevailing view.

In its fundamental ethos, the Order of the Elephant was connected to the ideology of the crusades. In the seventeenth century it was believed that it originated with Danish participation in the crusades to the Holy Land. This theory was invented by historians of the seventeenth century. Thus official Protestant royal ideology took in traditional crusading ideology when creating the history of the royal Order of the Elephant. The Armed Arm might even have been believed to be an image of the famous crusader sword of the Danish Prince Svend still depicted on the collar of Christian IV's Order of the Elephant. Perhaps that is why we no longer hear of nobles being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre in the seventeenth century (unless, of course, Henrik Rantzau and others were knighted secretly).²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ Suhm 1779–84, 1/1:48–49.

²⁷⁹ Kall's treatise is called *Formodninger om Elefantordenens Decoration og om denne Ordens første Oprindelse*. It is kept in the archives of the order, to which I did not have access as the archive temporarily has been packed away while the building is undergoing restoration and modernization. It is quoted by V. Simonsen 1813, p. 208, n. 3 and by Münter 1822, p. 43.

²⁸⁰ V. Simonsen, p. 208, n. 3; Münter 1822, pp. 44–49.

²⁸¹ At least some connection was seen in the sixteenth century between being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre and the creation of *Equites Aurati*—Golden knights—the common term for knighthood in Denmark. Sigvard Grubbe wrote in his diary that the noble Jørgen Lykke of Overgaard was an *Eques Auratus* and the last of this order in Denmark towards the end of the sixteenth century, *Sigvard Grubbes Dagbog*, p. 367.

The Legend and the Order of Dannebrog

The legend of the Danish national flag—called Dannebrog—that fell from the sky at Lyndanisse in 1219 was created in the sixteenth century. As mentioned in chapter 3, the two early sixteenth century historians, Christiern Pedersen and Petrus Olai, knew a source which described this event but told of it in combination with an otherwise unknown crusade in Livonia in 1208. It was Petrus Olai who connected the event to the great Danish crusade to Estonia of 1219. At least in the fifteenth century the flag was used by Danish kings and carried to war on several occasions—not always successfully. According to the Swedish sources, Dannebrog was lost at the battle of Brunkebjerg in 1471. It was lost again in 1500 during the catastrophic defeat of the Danish royal army during the first Ditmarschen campaign when it was carried by the noble Hans von Ahlefeldt.²⁸² In the heraldic shield of Christian II, depicted in the Book of Statutes for the Golden Fleece, the crest carries seven small cross-banners, which undoubtedly must be representations of Dannebrog.²⁸³ In 1560, the Danish historian Hans Svanning wrote of King Hans' utter defeat in the campaign against Ditmarschen in 1500 that "the banner of the kingdom with a cross in red and white that according to tradition had fallen from the sky during Valdemar II's war against the Livonians—at that time enemies of Christendom—was captured by the enemies when the commander of the army Hans Ahlefeldt was killed".²⁸⁴ Frederik II recovered it during the second Ditmarschen campaign in 1559.²⁸⁵ At his funeral procession in 1588, the banner was placed over his coffin.²⁸⁶

By at least the sixteenth century, Dannebrog was believed to be the banner that fell from the sky in 1219. A contemporary song relates that during the first assault on the city of Meldorf in Ditmarschen

Johan Rantzau "received the dignity of a golden knight" when he was knighted in Jerusalem, Christianus Cilicius Cimber, *Belli Dithmarsici*, pp. 258–59. Magnus Madsen, *Regum Danie Series*, pp. 131–32 wrote concerning Valdemar IV that he fought against the Lithuanians in Prussia, and that he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem where he was knighted, "which we call golden knight", by count Erich of Saxony. At his coronation in 1559 Frederik II created several "golden knights", Hogenbergius, *Res gestæ*, pl. 6; Bircherod 1706, pp. 22–23.

²⁸² Johan Rantzau, *Warkhafftige und kurtze Verzeychnisz*, fol. D1.

²⁸³ *Das Statutenbuch des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies*, fol. 98^v.

²⁸⁴ Hans Svanning, *Chronicon*. Svanning does not give the year, which could then be either 1208 or 1219.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Rantzau 1669, fol. L3; Christianus Cilicius Cimber, *Belli Dithmarsici*, pp. 246–47.

²⁸⁶ See the illustration in Hogenbergius, *Res gestæ*, plate 15.

in 1559 the Danes placed the cross-banner at the church tower and remembered the legend of Emperor Constantine's vision of the cross at Ponte Molle in 312, where a huge cross appeared in the sky and a voice declared "In hoc signo vinces". The Dannebrog legend found its final form that we know today in the chronicle of Arild Huitfeldt of 1599, in which he gave a vivid description of the battle based on Exodus 2:17, making a parallel between the Danish archbishop Anders Suneson praying like Moses with his hands extended towards Heaven for victory, and Constantine's vision of the cross.²⁸⁷ The picture of Moses stretching his hands towards heaven while Joshua fights Amalek was in fact often used in the sixteenth century to defend the church's active role in the war against the Turks.²⁸⁸ In his chronicle Huitfeldt left it for the reader to decide whether the flag was given to Valdemar by the pope as sign of a crusade—*cruciata*—or whether it should be taken as a symbol that victory is granted by God alone.²⁸⁹ Johannes Isaksen Pontanus (1571–1639), who was commissioned by Christian IV to write a Danish history in Latin for the European public in 1618, followed Huitfeldt's suggestion that it was perhaps granted by the pope for the crusade.²⁹⁰

In 1676, however, the learned historian and doctor Thomas Bartholin—whom we met earlier, making a brief stay at Malta in his youth—completely rejected the thesis that it was given to the king as a sign of a crusade. He published a history of the Order of Dannebrog that had just been founded by King Christian V in 1671. He agreed that the flag fell from the sky during the 1219 crusade, and he believed that the Order of Dannebrog had originally been founded on that occasion.²⁹¹ According to Bartholin, Valdemar II had founded the order in commemoration of this great event and to celebrate the two origins of his victory: God and the courage of his soldiers. When Dannebrog was lost in Ditmarschen, Bartholin believes, the order slowly was supplanted

²⁸⁷ Arild Huitfeldt, *Chronologia I*, in DRK, 6:106–7.

²⁸⁸ Heath 1986, pp. 17–18.

²⁸⁹ Arild Huitfeldt, *Chronologia I*, in DRK, 6:107.

²⁹⁰ Johannes Isaac Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum Historia*, pp. 306–7. Cf. for Pontanus and his work Skovgaard-Petersen 2002.

²⁹¹ Bartholin 1676. It was translated into Danish by Gustav Ludvig Baden in 1814: Bartholin 1814. The translation is equipped with a historical commentary, which Baden respectfully placed in endnotes "in order not to offend the strong believer" with his "heretical remarks immediately below the text of Bartholin".

by the Order of the Elephant.²⁹² The Order of Dannebrog was now reinstated by Christian V. But Bartholin cannot agree with Huitfeldt and Pontanus that this banner was granted by the pope “when all the reliable Danish annals simply do not mention that this expedition was a crusade (*Cruciata*) with a single word”.²⁹³ According to Bartholin there could be no doubt that the banner fell from the sky as a true miracle. There were plenty of examples in history of how God had intervened and performed miracles to convert the heathens—just take the conversion of the Danes and the story of the German missionary Poppo! According to legend, Poppo convinced the Danish king of the power of the Christian God in the tenth century by carrying red hot iron. There was also the example of Constantine the Great, who was victorious under a shining cross in the sky.²⁹⁴ The banner was given to Valdemar by God, because Valdemar wanted to convert the heathens and to expand Christendom.²⁹⁵ It was the same cross, Bartholin states, that the first Christians carried on their foreheads as described by Tertullian, and that the Christian knights carried on their clothes and arms during the *expeditiones contra barbaras Orientis nationes* according to the German twelfth century chronicler Helmold. Alfonso IV of Portugal defeated the “Mahometanos” in Granada under a royal banner with the holy cross.²⁹⁶ Through this precious banner that fell from the sky—the sign of the cross—Valdemar defeated the heathens that had fallen from the true faith.²⁹⁷ In Bartholin’s version, the role of the king is strongly underlined. It was the prayers of Valdemar—not those Archbishop Anders, who is completely left out of the story—that prompted the miracle. Bartholin is also very specific in distinguishing the Danish order and the Danish cross from the orders and crosses of

²⁹² Bartholin 1676, pp. 22–23. Bartholin did not comment on the origin of the Order of the Elephant, but simply states that most people date it to the time of Christian I, but he believed it to be older.

²⁹³ The Danish annals (cf. the editions in DMA) of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries use the term “*expeditio*”, which of course was the most common term for crusade at the time.

²⁹⁴ Bartholin 1676, pp. 6–7. Bartholin may have used the work *De Cruce Christi* of the Jesuit Jacob Gretser, who wrote a chapter on all recorded cross-visions of which Bartholin mentions several, Jacob Gretser, *De Cruce Christi*, 1:527–54. At least the work was used by Lars Norrman in Uppsala to argue against the legitimacy of the crusades to the Holy Land in 1687, cf. below “Conclusion”.

²⁹⁵ Bartholin 1676, p. 12.

²⁹⁶ Bartholin 1676, pp. 13–14.

²⁹⁷ Bartholin 1676, pp. 14–15.

other nationalities and to prove that Christian V in every respect had surpassed his great ancestors. Janus Bircherod, however, wrote in the preface to his *Breviarium Equestre* that both Danish military orders originated in the crusades: “The Order of the Elephant during the military campaigns of the Danes against Moors and Saracens during the holy war; The Order of Dannebrog during the glorious deeds of the same in Livonia against the Livonians [whom they] converted to the Christian faith”.²⁹⁸

During the reign of Christian IV, however, it was Huitfeldt’s version of the legend that was authoritative. It was taken over by royal ideology and used in its propaganda. In the early 1590s, Christian IV minted gold coins in imitation of the Portuguese gold coins called *portugues* or *portugaløser* in Danish, which combined heavenly visions of crosses—symbolized by the Christ-cross—and the Portuguese crusades. In 1603, a new coin was struck in Denmark, which depicted the Christ-cross surrounded by Christian IV’s motto “regna firmat pietas” and “in hoc signe vinces” engraved around it [see fig. 20].²⁹⁹ As the Danish heraldic specialist Niels Bartholdy writes: “In this way this type of cross was also in Denmark connected to the ideology of the *christianitas militans*. The addition of the famous sentence no doubt was due to Huitfeldt’s chronicle that had been published just a few years prior”.³⁰⁰ Huitfeldt explicitly linked the cross in the Danish coat of arms to the Danish involvement in the crusades in the Baltic: “For this reason—that King Valdemar planted the Christian faith in Livonia—the white cross is carried in the Danish arms”.³⁰¹ He even acknowledged that this was granted the Danish kings by the pope. Under the year 1249, he wrote of King Erik Plovpenning: “previous popes had given his father *cruciatam*, that is the Christian cross to carry in his coat of arms”.³⁰² Around 25 years later, this banner was placed on the Danish standards during the

²⁹⁸ Bircherod 1706, præfatio, not paginated: “Ordo Elephantinus à bellicis Danorum expeditionibus contra Mauros ac Saracenos, durante bello sacro; Danebrogicus à gloriosis eorundem gestis in Livonia contra Livonos ad religionem Christianam conversos incunabula sua agnoscere censetur”.

²⁹⁹ Bartholdy 1993, pp. 43–45.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁰¹ Arild Huitfeldt, *Chronologia I*, in DRK, 6:106–7: “For denne Aarsage Skyld, at Konning Woldemar [II] udi Liffland haffuer indplantet den Christelige Tro, føris udi Danmarckis Vaaben det huide Kaars”.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 191: “fordumme Paffuer haffuer giffuet hans Herrefader Cruciatam, det er det Christne Kaars udi Vaben, Menendis sig oc der met at vinde en Fortieniste hos Gud”.

Thirty Years' War, thus in the event Christian IV raised the symbol of crusade, granted to Danish kings on crusades by the pope, in his army as he was fighting for the sake of Protestantism [see fig. 21]. In other respects, Christian likened himself to the great crusading king Valdemar II. When Christian lost an eye in the famous battle at Kolberger Heide in 1644—which strangely enough was a naval battle—he compared himself to Valdemar II the Victorious, who according to the medieval chronicles had also lost an eye during a decisive battle. The chronicle's "oculam amisit" is actually a misreading for "victoriam amisit", but Christian IV could not know that.³⁰³

Denmark in the Thirty Years' War

When the Protestant Czech-speaking subjects of the emperor in Bohemia showed their discontent with the emperor in 1618 by throwing the imperial governors out of the window from the castle in Prague, they threw the first stone in the bloody conflict between Catholics and Protestants known as the Imperial War or the Thirty Years' War which lasted until 1648. First, however, it resulted in civil war, that then took on truly international dimensions the year after, when the Bohemians refused to accept Duke Ferdinand of Steiermark as emperor and instead elected Elector Friedrich of Pfalz as king of Bohemia. He was a Calvinist and leader of the Protestant Union in Germany. He was also married to the niece of Christian IV. At first, Christian IV stayed out of the conflict and the Danish council stated that he was not obliged to take action as the war did not concern religion, but only who was the legitimate ruler in Bohemia.

The Catholic armies took the opportunity to press forward in Germany, however, and the Protestants began to take counter-measures. Treaties of mutual support were agreed upon between Denmark and England and Denmark and the Netherlands. The latter encouraged Christian IV to intervene in Germany as head of an anti-Catholic alliance. England sent legates to Denmark to create an alliance between England, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark with France as passive support. Gustav Adolph of Sweden immediately accepted the proposal and suggested himself as military leader together with a great military

³⁰³ K. V. Jensen 2000, p. 202 n. 4.

plan with the intention of leading the army personally. It was Christian IV, however, who came to lead the Protestant army into northern Germany in 1625—not as king of Denmark, but as Count of Holstein, as he knew that the Danish council would object to his involvement. Christian IV would finally lead a Protestant army fighting for the true faith against the Catholic emperor. It was not strange that Christian IV should see himself in this role—it was believed and officially proclaimed that only in Denmark was the true faith practiced.

Erasmus Lætus wrote in 1577 in celebration of the baptism of Christian IV that the baptism of Christian was at the same time to be the baptism of Denmark. Denmark was now the only country in the world where true faith ruled unchallenged!³⁰⁴ In the eulogy Anders Sørensen Vedel wrote at the death of Frederik II and dedicated to Christian IV, he described the king as the Christian hero who as the head of the holy church completed God's plans, and "he [Frederik II] had led his people as the prophet Elias had led the Israelites".³⁰⁵ Denmark was the new Israel—an argument also imitated by Sweden. Denmark was "a safe haven for the church" compared to the rest of the world, where diverse forms of impiety ruled such as the "delirium Mahometicum" and where Antichrist extended his rule through among others the sly Jesuits in his army against Christ. The bishop Peder Vinstrup voiced these ideas in his speech at the coronation of Christian IV in 1596: "Denmark provides a happy home for the true church in these confused final days of the world".³⁰⁶ In the beginning of the seventeenth century the poet Lyschander expressed the same idea: No people in our time holds on more purely on the name of Christ.³⁰⁷ It is not surprising that Christian IV—and his contemporaries for that matter—imagined him as the leader of the Protestant League that was going to take on the struggle against the Catholic forces in Europe.

³⁰⁴ *Erasmus Lætus' skrift*, p. 35. Palladius had written something similar of Christian III in 1559, Lausten 1987a, pp. 121–23 as had Melanchton the same year, Skovgaard-Petersen 1997, pp. 113–14.

³⁰⁵ Anders Sørensen Vedel, *En sørgelig Ligpredicken*, pp. A'–Aii.

³⁰⁶ Skovgaard-Petersen 1997, p. 127.

³⁰⁷ C. C. Lyschander, *Propagatio Fidei et Religionis Christianæ*, pp. 64–65.

The Lion of the North

There were many excellent reasons for believing in the successful outcome of the war beside the empty promises of support from especially England and the other allies (whose lack of substance was predicted by the Danish Council). In the late 1540s, the Swiss Physician Theophrastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim (1493–1547) predicted that a Lion would come from the North to attack and defeat the Eagle (i.e. the emperor). The enemies of Christ would show their might and all kinds of sufferings would occur. But the lion with its small group of the justified—aided by the almighty God—would overcome the Empire of Evil and take over Europe as well as parts of Asia and Africa. The idea that the punishment of God would come from the North had medieval origins, and was based on a series of Biblical quotations.³⁰⁸ Among others, the prophecy of Daniel told of a great battle between the South and the North and that none would be able to resist the great king of the latter. During the sixteenth century, Lutheran astrologers increasingly predicted the coming of the final battle and stressed the need for penance and reform. The famous Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe wrote in his *De Nova Stella* from 1573, after having observed the super-nova of 1572, that it predicted the fall of Roman world-monarchy and signalled the beginning of the last days. His ideas were presented more distinctly in the work dedicated to Emperor Rudolph II in 1602, *Astronomiæ instaurata progymnasmata*. Religion was about to enter a new period when all empty vanity would come to nothing and a bright light overcome the shadows of the night. It would take place before and around 1632. The initiator of the process would come from the North, more precisely from the spot of the zenith where the star first appeared. It pointed to Finland.³⁰⁹

From the late 1590s to around 1630, numerous predictions based on celestial signs appeared that foretold that the Lion of North was about to come out of the woods,³¹⁰ which had great political implications. It was used to argue a leonine alliance of European Protestants to fight the final eschatological battles against the representatives of Antichrist.³¹¹ In 1586, the Saxon prophet Poul Grebner approached Elizabeth I of

³⁰⁸ Cf. Is. 41:25; Jer. 4:5, 5:6, 50:9; Esther, 3 and 4.

³⁰⁹ Cf. Nordström 1934; Åkerman 1998, pp. 132–35.

³¹⁰ Cf. Barnes 1988, esp. pp. 141–81; Cunningham & Grell 2000, esp. pp. 71–91; Nordström 1934.

³¹¹ Åkerman 1998, pp. 125–66.

England with a copy of the leonine prophecy, suggesting a northern political alliance led by Frederik II. It happened simultaneously with Frederik II's shift to an offensive alliance for the sake of Protestantism (cf. above). As Susanna Åkerman has demonstrated, there was indeed a link between English Protestant diplomacy and German proponents of apocalypticism striving to build a New Jerusalem. The prophecy reached a number of political leaders centrally placed and networks for the spread of this kind of material existed between Denmark and England and Denmark and Holland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³¹² Such signs and predictions naturally influenced Christian IV, and he would have taken them as seriously as all his contemporaries did.³¹³ Undoubtedly also—as some contemporaries did—he would have considered himself a likely candidate for being the Lion of the North. A version of the prophecy was printed in Denmark in 1625, the same year as the medal was struck depicting the Armed Arm, probably holding a legendary sword carried by one of Christian IV's ancestors in the crusade, but at least symbolizing the Protestant *Ecclesia Militans* fighting for “Religion and freedom”. A reported vision of three suns over Mecklenburg in March 1625, of which the middle had a red cross, might have encouraged Christian IV to enter the war the same year.³¹⁴

As before, he took measures to ensure that God would support his army. In the war-articles for the army in 1625, Christian prohibited drinking and swearing, and “true blaspheming” was prohibited on pain of the death penalty. These instructions were very similar to those laid out by Luther in his letter to Joachim of Brandenburg in 1542 and were naturally considered a necessary precondition for victory in war.³¹⁵ In December 1625, during intense prayers for the Evangelical church Christian IV received a vision of the suffering Christ, which he had depicted in a painting with an explanatory note placed in the frame [see fig. 22]. “It was clear sign”, as Cunningham and Grell write, “that

³¹² Åkerman 1998, esp. pp. 97–98, 104–10, 116–66.

³¹³ Cf. Cunningham & Grell 2000, at pp. 172–74. Erasmus Lætus related a story that a mermaid had predicted the birth of Christian IV during the reign of Frederik II. Lætus identified the mermaid with the Devil, *Erasmus Lætus' skrift*, pp. 292–311. However, the young Prince Christian—later Christian V—required further information concerning this prophecy in 1647, cf. the editor's foreword to *Erasmus Lætus' skrift*, pp. 33–35, 44.

³¹⁴ Åkerman 1998, p. 160; Cunningham & Grell 2000, p. 76.

³¹⁵ *Danske Kørkelove*, 3:115–17.

God wanted him to come to the defence of the suffering evangelical communities in Germany".³¹⁶ The inspiration might once again have come from crusading history. Before the decisive battle of Ourique against the Saracens in 1139, King Alfonso I of Portugal received a vision in which the crucified Christ promised him victory and the protection of his kingdom. A document in which Alfonso I testified to the truth of the vision was discovered in Portugal towards the end of the sixteenth century. It might have been known to Christian IV. Nevertheless it is interesting to see how the story could be used to the same effect on both sides of the confessional divide.

But Christian IV should have paid more attention to Brahe's calculations concerning the zenith of the first sighting of "the new star": The Lion was clearly to come from further east. Gustav II Adolph was at least from early in the seventeenth century associated with the legend, although it was during the campaigns in Germany that it peaked. In 1631, he had a medal struck depicting him as a "miles Christi" standing on a headless monster with the inscription "parcere christocolis...debellare feroces haereticos".³¹⁷ In 1626, Christian IV's army was decisively beaten, and soon afterwards the imperial forces had occupied all of Jutland. Christian IV still had supremacy at sea, however, and the Catholic forces were prevented from crossing Lillebælt. The situation was grave, and in 1627 Christian IV even began to hope for Turkish advances that would help him when negotiating peace.³¹⁸

Explanations for Defeat

From September 1626, Christian issued elaborate instructions for new prayer-days to avert God's punishments. Explanation for defeat was to be found in the sinful behaviour of his subjects. They were strongly admonished to do penance. All feasts and celebrations were prohibited. Neither marriage nor baptism should be abandoned but festivities and drinking, music and dancing, were forbidden; everything should be performed in devout silence.³¹⁹ An elaborate decree concerning the penance that the population needed to undertake to avert God's punishments was issued in March 1629, and almost as if it worked the peace ending

³¹⁶ Cunningham & Grell 2000, p. 172.

³¹⁷ Burke 1997, p. 3.

³¹⁸ *Kong Christian den Fjerdes egenhændige Breve*, 2:72–74 (no. 62), at p. 73.

³¹⁹ *Danske Kirkelove*, 3:119–25. For prayer-days in 1628, *ibid.*, pp. 129–30, 131–35. Cf. above pp. 289–94.

Denmark's role in the Thirty Years' War was settled later that year on relatively lenient conditions. In January 1630 a missive was sent to the bishops in Denmark and Norway, instructing them to make sure that each man and wife assembled every morning with their children and servants to kneel and pray to God to protect the country and its authorities.³²⁰ The king's publicists also believed that Denmark was being punished deservedly as underlined in the official prayer-days. However, they also believed that God would save Denmark and his chosen people in the end. God had given Denmark a champion, as Paul Douglas Lockhart writes: Christian IV. Like the Old-Testament kings he would personally save his realm. They described him almost as a Christ-like figure, who fought not just for his people but for Christendom. This image was also propounded from the pulpits and in the printed sermons.³²¹ But I cannot agree with Lockhart that there was very little the Danish population could do. The point of the penitential measures was exactly to involve the population in moving God to assist both king and people. The King personally undertook such measures. Another painting in his personal prayer chamber in the chapel at Frederiksborg Castle showed the king in penitential garb kneeling before the crucified Christ. Originally, the painting depicted the king in a royal garb with his crown and sceptre. The change was made to show that as Christ suffered on the cross, so did Christian have to suffer for his people and the evangelical church [see fig. 23–23a]. Christian really felt that he had taken the cross of Christ.³²²

In the 1620s, Christian IV proposed building a New Copenhagen. However, events and defeats at the end of the decade ruined his plan—a frustration mirrored by the failure to turn Copenhagen into the capital of the Protestant world as an Evangelical Rome.³²³ The ambition to become Roman empor was well-roumoured at the time and was reflected artistically in representations of Christian, which should be seen in connection with the idea of Denmark as a safe haven for the church. In 1580 Anders Sørensen Vedel repeated Philip Melancthon's description of Denmark as the "Capernaum of the North" in a

³²⁰ *Danske Kirkelove*, 3:140–69.

³²¹ Lockhart 1998, esp. pp. 239–42. Cf. also Olden-Jørgensen 2006, p. 105.

³²² Cf. Heiberg 1988, p. 313 ff. A new revised edition (Heiberg 2006) has just appeared.

³²³ This aspect is highlighted in Heiberg 2006.

laudatory poem presented to Frederik II.³²⁴ The priest and publisher of the first official hymnbook for the Danish-Norwegian kingdom, Hans Thomesen, also reported that he often heard Melancthon compare the Danish church with the congregation in Capernaum at the time of Christ.³²⁵ Capernaum could have several meanings in that context. It was the city where Christ lived and it perhaps signalled that He had now been received in Denmark where peace and learning ruled.³²⁶ It was also, of course, according to some theories, going to be the place of the second coming. One can imagine Christian IV picturing himself in this role as the prophesied Lion of the North, when he entered the war in 1625, riding out from Denmark—the Capernaum of the North—to bring the bright Evangelical light to shine on Europe. Was it a crusade? Christian IV at least wanted to be presented as a champion of the true faith as head of a kingdom with a long crusading tradition. He went to war under the sign of the cross in the shape of a banner given by God and the popes to the Danish kings on a crusade, believing the soldiers to be martyrs if they fell in battle, using the martyrs of the First Crusade as direct examples. The crusade ideology of Christian IV was thus much more organically linked with the past than simply putting old wine in new bottles. Jacques Bongar, the French diplomat and historian, seems to have acknowledged this, as in his preface to his 1611 edition of a number of crusade texts he placed Denmark alongside France, England and Germany as one of the main crusading countries of all times.

³²⁴ Anders Sørensen Vedel, *Oratio Panegyrica*, Ci-i'.

³²⁵ Hans Thomesen, *Oratio de illustriss. principe ac domino, D. Christiano Tértio*, p. 43.

³²⁶ Cf. Skovgaard-Petersen 1997, pp. 123–24.

CONCLUSION

It has recently been realized that the crusades had a tremendous impact on religious and political life in Denmark in the high middle ages. This study has showed that nothing changed with the fall of Acre in 1291. Crusading was an extremely important political instrument in the hands of the Danish kings. It played an important role in the fourteenth century during the efforts of King Valdemar IV to win back the pawned Danish kingdom. With the forming of the Kalmar Union, crusade promises and crusade plans became very important political arguments of the Danish rulers both in their relations with foreign powers and between the countries of the union. They must have functioned as political declarations of great importance when trying to secure international support for political ambitions, both abroad and within the Nordic countries. The real obstacle to Danish crusade participation against the Turks was the Swedes—the great internal Turk of the North. The purpose has been to demonstrate the political and ideological importance of this way of arguing rather than relegating it to the status of ideological smoke-screen.

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Danish kings had a crusade frontier that stretched from the border to the Russians in the east—not that far from the enemies who attacked Christendom in the south—across the North where various heathen peoples lived well into the North Atlantic. This crusade frontier often prevented Danish kings from participating in crusades against the Turks, which made good sense in the geo-political world-view of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In the process of investigating the frontier, a number of actual and planned expeditions to Greenland and India have been described, which have not received much attention previously. It is suggested that the “westernmost frontier of Christendom” in Greenland should be considered a kind of crusade frontier with fighting and missions among the heathens in what we today know as North America and in the north of Greenland. The expeditions of the Danish kings in the fifteenth century must be seen as part of the Portuguese and Castilian expansion in the Atlantic with the purpose of reaching the mythical realm of Prester John, and should therefore be considered within the general

context of the Atlantic crusades of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, adding a much neglected corner to the expansion of Christendom in this period. These crusades are another indication of the importance of the crusades in late medieval Denmark, as they were accompanied by an ideological programme that intended to present Danish kings as descendants of great crusading ancestors, especially Ogier the Dane, who had conquered all of Asia from Jerusalem to Paradise in the East. This crusade ideology was much more than just an ideological device used to meet political or economic ends, although it naturally did not supplant political and economic motivations, the riches of India being a natural motivating force as well. Crusading ideology, however, provided the arguments that qualified these ambitions as legitimate and just. To argue that they are merely a smoke-screen for “real” motivations would be the same as arguing that modern people did not believe in human rights or democracy if political and economic motivations were behind for instance the present war in Iraq. The centrality of the arguments within the political agenda of the time in itself is evidence of their relevance. But it is made manifest in the general importance of the crusade within Danish society at large.

Crusade ideology permeated society. It can almost be equalled to a modern multi-media show: it was preached, processions were performed, it was part of the daily liturgy, prayers were said during mass, crusade masses were performed, it was painted on church walls, and church-bells were rung to remind people of the danger of the Turks. Crusade literature was being read and created. The history of early printing in Denmark can be directly linked to preaching and propagandising crusades in Scandinavia. The crusade was the personal obligation of every Christian, and it was supported at all levels of Danish society, by men, women, and children, lay and ecclesiastic. The support of Scandinavian nuns has been singled out as an example. Although Danish kings failed to send armies against the Turks, many took the cross personally, like the “thousands” that went to take part in the crusade of Pius II, or individuals like Hennik of Denmark, who was one of the leaders of the successful 1456 Belgrade crusade. Crusade ideology continued to be an important part of royal ideology. Nothing suggests that the crusade mattered less in Denmark in the period 1400–1536 compared to the rest of Europe. And crusades were being fought at the eastern border of the Union against the schismatic Russians. This picture was consistent right down to the Reformation.

There is no evidence that the crusade or genuine crusade indulgences were unpopular in early sixteenth century Denmark, although lone voices of reform-minded ecclesiastics like Paulus Helie in the early sixteenth century criticised them.

With the Reformation, the papal crusade came to an end. But many of the features of the medieval crusade lived on within the Protestant confession. According to Martin Luther, the war against the Turks would lead the soldiers to salvation if fought with the right intentions. Only now it was the duty of the prince or emperor to conduct this war. The church was, however, to provide the spiritual artillery. As in the Middle Ages, special prayers were said against the enemies of the realm—once again, Sweden often took that role—as well as against the Turks. From the Reformation it was argued that Denmark was the only place in the world where the true faith ruled unchallenged. At least from the reign of Frederik II this became associated with an aggressive war on behalf of the true faith, i.e. Protestantism. It was put in the context of the eschatological battle between good and evil and the imminent end of the world. Against this background, King Christian IV went to war in 1625 to bring the bright Evangelical light to the world. When it failed, the explanation for defeat was found in the sins of his people, as it had been ever since the First Crusade.

Models and examples for young Lutheran nobles were found in Denmark's crusading past with Ogier the Dane and Prince Svend as obvious examples. Danish nobles were even explicitly encouraged to take the crusaders, who won the palms of martyrdom in the Holy Land, as role-models. Danes continued to visit the Holy Places and to be knighted at the Holy Sepulchre for most of the period treated here. A shift seems to have appeared around 1600, when the sources no longer mention Danes being knighted at the Holy Sepulchre. They continued to fight in the ranks of the Knights of Saint John against the Turks all through the seventeenth century, however. But royal ideology also used symbols which despite being indisputably national at the time were directly associated with Danish crusade participation, like the Order of the Elephant and Dannebrog, which were both believed to have originated during the crusades, to the Holy Land and the Baltic respectively. It was not simply a matter of reaching back to the Old Testament texts or an expression of generic ideas of holy war rather than crusade. The crusading past was being reinvented and fully adapted to the Protestant national monarchy in Denmark.

At least to contemporaries, the continuity from the pre-Reformation past was obvious.

In its specific medieval meaning of a war sanctioned by the pope, the *cruciata* came to an end with the Reformation. But in its broader meaning of God's war or a holy war against the enemies of Christendom that would lead the soldiers to salvation if they fought with the right intentions, it survived the Reformation, however being "branded" to fit the new Protestant kingdom and church of Denmark. The Protestant church continued to use prayers and exhortations to penance as means to halt the Turkish advances as well as against other enemies of the faith and of the realm. The liturgical war of the church is another area where a direct line of continuity can be pointed out. It is at the same time an area where the ideology of church and king were effectively communicated to the public. The welfare of the realm and of Christendom became the moral obligation of every person in Denmark as it had been all through the Middle Ages. Danish historians of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century freely used the word *cruciata* in the "pluralist sense" to describe Danish wars against heathens in the past. That, however, began to change in the seventeenth century contemporaneously with the development of a secularised crusade historiography, which in effect was a debate that discussed the legal background for the crusades to the Holy Land.¹

The English historian Christopher Tyerman dated the beginnings of the modern secularised historiography of the crusades to the seventeenth century with the work of the French Jesuit Louis Maimbourg, *Histoire des croisades* published in 1675, and the *Historie of the Holy Warre* by the English Priest Thomas Fuller published in 1639, although they were very different in character.² They both became widely diffused in Europe, including Scandinavia, where they were quoted as sources for Danish participation in the crusades. They also laid the foundation for the traditionalist approach to the study of the crusades, defining the subject as the military expeditions to the Holy Land between 1095 and 1291.³

¹ Johnson 1975.

² Tyerman 1998, pp. 109–11. In the grandiose Benedictine monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés on the left bank of the Seine in Paris, the reformed congregation of Saint Maur, which counted such great scholars as Jean Mabillon (1632–1707), had their headquarters. They embarked on a program of studying and translating Islamic texts to enhance the understanding of the history of the crusades, cf. Irwin 2003.

³ For instance the definition given in the *Universal Lexicon* quoted in n. 4 of the introduction above listed Maimbourg as source for the entry.

In his work, Thomas Fuller made two lists of arguments, *pro et contra* the crusades to the Holy Land. The arguments against proved that the crusades could not be considered just wars. Fuller then listed a number of reasons for the failure of the crusades. The first and most obvious reason was the popes. Then followed the Greek emperors, lack of leadership, the long distances involved, ecclesiastical leaders in the army, and finally the evil conduct of the participants. The crusaders were believed to be pilgrims and participants in the army of God, and one therefore expected good behavior, devotion, and purity from them. To Fuller, however, the crusaders were crueler than ordinary people. He did not write this to speak ill of the dead but to show their “ulcerous insides, that the death may teach the living, and lesson posteritie”.⁴ And one should not forget, he wrote, that the people who went to Jerusalem “(wether ridiculously, or blasphemously, or both, let others judge) did carry a goose before them, pretending it to be the Holy Ghost”.⁵ He doubted that the conquest of the Holy Land would be tried again since it went so terribly wrong in the first instance, especially since the Turks had done the Christians the very un-welcome favour of meeting them half way to spare them the journey. To stop the Turkish invasion of Europe was much more necessary than conquering the Holy Land: “the Holy warre [is] running in another channel, against the Turks in Christendome”.⁶ Fuller lamented the internal division of Christendom that only “the heavenly surgeon” could heal, and which quenched every “hope of a Holy warre against the generall and common foe of our Religion”.⁷ The real target of Fuller’s criticism was the popes and the indulgences, as it had been to Protestants since Luther.

Fuller’s criticism was explicitly expressed in Scandinavia towards the end of the seventeenth century. On November 1687, the later professor in Greek language at the University of Uppsala in Sweden, Lars Norrman, defended his doctoral-dissertation *Dissertatio-politica de Expeditionibus Crucialis*. He defined crusades (*cruciatæ*) as “the expeditions that were undertaken at the command of the pope in order to reconquer the Holy Land under the sign of the cross”. The first part of the dissertation is an account of the history of the crusades to the

⁴ Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, pp. 249–256, quotation at p. 256.

⁵ Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, p. 16.

⁶ Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, pp. 228, 277.

⁷ Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, p. 277.

Holy Land that would not differ substantially from traditional accounts today. This account then formed the background for discussing the legitimacy of the crusades. He was writing against the work of the Jesuit Jacob Gretser, who was professor of theology in Ingolstadt. In 1600, the latter published a huge work on the history of the cross. It contained a history of the crusades to the Holy Land followed by an *Apologia pro cruciata militia*, which of course was intended to prove that the crusades were just and divinely ordained wars.⁸ Based on the work of the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), *De Jure Belli et Pacis* published in 1625, Norrman argued that the legal preconditions that “Gretser and others keep hammering into our heads”, for instance that the Saracens had unjustly seized the Holy Land from the Christians and persecuted their Christian subjects were false, and that the Christians accordingly had no right to dispossess them of their lands: “If the Saracens had not taken any part of the Latin empire, if they had not violated their own laws or the natural law they could not be deprived of their dominions”.⁹ In no way did the crusaders live up to the criteria laid down by Grotius in order for one people to attack another people, witnessed by their deeds on their way to the Holy Land.¹⁰ According to Norrman, there were indeed many reasons why, to modern eyes, the crusades were based on ill-judged arguments. For instance, the crusade was argued to be in support of the Greeks, but the Greeks had neither asked for nor wanted the help of the Christians.¹¹ In many ways, Norrman anticipated a view often expressed in much later historiography on the crusades—especially in Scandinavia: Basically the crusades were immoral wars not in accordance with the Christian faith and did not live up to the criteria for a just war according to the definitions of Grotius. This critique became universal during the eighteenth century with the writers of the enlightenment and beyond.¹²

But as Fuller bears witness, the Turks were still considered the common enemy of religion and in 1683, only four years prior to Norrman’s dissertation, prayers against the Turks, the “archenemy of

⁸ Jacob Gretser, *De Cruce Christi*, 2:1–166 (De cruciatis expeditionibus in terram sanctam), 167–253 (Apologia pro cruciata militia).

⁹ Norrman 1687, p. 39.

¹⁰ Norrman 1687, pp. 39–52.

¹¹ Norrman 1687, pp. 52–58. He then ends with a note of the crusader’s superstitious beliefs, especially the relics they discovered like the Holy Lance etc., *ibid.*, pp. 58–60. The same arguments were put forth and the same conclusions reached in another dissertation on the history of the First Crusade in Leipzig in 1694, Rechenberg 1694.

¹² Tyerman 1998, pp. 111–18.

Christendom", were being read aloud from the pulpits of the Swedish church, which also expressed the hope of uniting the Christian states in a concerted effort to defeat them. A holy league was created by Pope Innocent XI in 1684 consisting of Poland, the empire, and Venice, which was supported by preaching, crusade tenths, recruitment, and intercessory prayers. Even Protestant Sweden contributed to the spiritual armoury. The same year a satirical play was published in Sweden to parody the political situation in Europe that made a common front impossible and also contained a remedy to defeat the Turk.¹³ According to this little tract, the grand-vizier asked the sultan for permission to go to war "because a realm in internal conflict will perish". The Sultan then allowed the grand-vizier to invite the Roman emperor to a game of cards. The many European players have different arguments for or against playing. The pope, of course, is a sport and immediately begins collecting money through indulgences and masses. One of the key players is Denmark, although not much help was going to come from that front. "I am content", Denmark says, "with what I have won in Holstein. If anyone desires to play, he can come and play over *that!*"¹⁴ Much had changed since Prince Svend fell to infidel arrows in Anatolia almost 600 years earlier. It all of course leads to nothing. Then a remedy is given on how to defeat the Turk. First, of course, one should seek the helping hand of God. Then you should have a German general, the French to stay neutral, Denmark and England to check the Turkish navy, "getting the help of Sweden, which will not be difficult", and different war necessities from various states: Guns from Holland, corn and malt from Bohemia, hay and salt from Hungary, lead and bullets from Poland. Then all that was needed was a brave heart and getting the pope to open his coffers, and it would undoubtedly succeed.

In 1715, the Turks again went to war, attacking in the Peloppones. The year after, Emperor Charles VI made an alliance with Venice and managed to inflict severe defeats on the Turks. If the soldiers and "thousands of volunteers" fighting against the Turks in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century are indeed to be considered crusaders,¹⁵ at least one of them was Danish. Lyder Montaigne de

¹³ *Ett Nytt Ungersk/ Turkiskt och Fransöskt Labet Speel.*

¹⁴ "Jagh er förnögd medh dhett som i Hållsteen wunnit är/ och enpassant, oförmodeligen/ taga Jeverlandet dhertil; Är någon som sedan haar Lust at spela dherom/ han kan anmähle sigh".

¹⁵ Riley-Smith 1996, pp. 250–51; Riley-Smith 2005, p. 292. Cf. Setton 1991, pp. 426–50.

Fasting took service with the Venetians against the Turks. In his book of the war, he described how he was in Spanish naval service at the time of the Turkish victories of 1715. In early 1716 he went to Venice where he “reported himself to the *Proveditori del Mare* (which is like the Admiralty) and told of his knowledge of sailing, that he had resided in different countries for some time to be educated in such science, and the desire he had for serving the *Reipublica* against the Turks which had prompted him to come this long way”.¹⁶ In 1716, he was promoted to “*Capitain Lieutenant*” and served on the flagship of the Venetian fleet.¹⁷ In 1718, he took his leave and wanted to return to Denmark to serve his fatherland, which just happened to be at war with Sweden.¹⁸ The general of the fleet, the German *Schulenberg*, went to Rome in 1717 in the hope of rich rewards, but was disappointed—as was Fasting—when *Schulenberg* only received two gold medals.¹⁹ Fasting also described the superstitious practices of the “*papists*” in the army.²⁰

In the eighteenth century, Danish and Norwegian shipping still faced the problems with Turkish corsairs. In the period 1715–35, the Turkish fund paid out more than 150.000 “*rigsdaler*” to the Barbary States, but the management could then proudly proclaim in 1736 that there were no more Danes or Norwegians who were enslaved in Algeria.²¹ When Danish-Norwegian shipping in the Mediterranean began to increase again in the second half of the eighteenth century, the number of people taken captive again also increased.²² Some returned wearing their Turkish dress, like the Norwegian *Christian Børs*, who had served as a servant for the preparation of coffee to the *Bey* of Algiers from 1769 to 71.²³ Another more prominent example was *Hark Olufs* (1708–54), who was taken prisoner in 1724, but ended up as commander of the bodyguard of the *Bey* of Constantine in Algeria in 1732.²⁴ A couple of years later, he returned to his small native island of *Amrum* in the *Jutland Wadden Sea*, where he continued to “dress and smoke” in the Turkish fashion. In the 1750s ambassadors from Marocco and Tripoli

¹⁶ Fasting 1720, p. 17 ff.

¹⁷ Fasting 1720, p. 27 f.

¹⁸ Fasting 1720, p. 144.

¹⁹ Fasting 1720, p. 69.

²⁰ Fasting 1720, p. 63 f.

²¹ Fossen 1979, pp. 247–55.

²² Fossen 1979, pp. 247–49.

²³ Fossen 1979, pp. 252, 254.

²⁴ Rheinheimer 2001; Guldberg & Rheinheimer 2003.

were in Copenhagen to negotiate the payment of new tributes and it was only in 1845 that an agreement was reached with English help to stop future payments.²⁵ In 1797, a small Danish fleet under the admiral Steen Bille Andersen attacked Tripoli and after some fighting and shots fired at the city, the Danish admiral declared a great victory. It made the Danish writer Steen Steensen Blicher back in Copenhagen write that “more than a hundred Turbans shifted heads that day”. It is probably dubious that this expedition should be seen in light of the crusades, but some historians have pointed to the persistence of crusading lasting even to the present day, and it would demand further research to answer this question. The Reformation did in no way change the basic image of the Turk or Islam. A shift is only to be seen in the eighteenth century, when the history of Islam and the Orient is treated in a more scholarly way based on the many sources and new informations that had been made available thorough a series of expeditions to the Orient, which were both diplomatic and scientific in nature, even if Islam was still perceived to be an albeit clever creation by Muhammad, who used it to advance his own political ambitions.²⁶

By the nineteenth century, we have almost returned to the starting point of Danish historiography on the crusades. The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a great interest in the Orient as part of constructing a Danish nationality, a process which had actually begun in the second half of the eighteenth century, as in other parts of Europe. But it was a certain kind of orientalism that does not fit into the general thesis of Edward Said who places orientalism in a colonial and expansionist context. Instead, as a consequence of Denmark’s role as a minor state in nineteenth century Europe, “Denmark’s Orientalist enterprises usually constituted an effort to regard itself as French—light and cosmopolitan—rather than Germanic—heavy and provincial” as Elisabeth Oxfeldt has argued.²⁷ A clear resonance is found in Vedel Simonsen’s statement in 1813 that the crusades paved the way for “cosmopolitanism and humanism”. During the “golden age” of Danish crusade historiography, historians acknowledged the importance of the crusade in late medieval Denmark. That changed in 1864 when

²⁵ Bjerg 1996.

²⁶ Rasmussen 1996; J. B. Simonsen 2004.

²⁷ Oxfeldt 2005, with quote at p. 12; Folsach 1996, esp. pp. 13–20, 28–29; Zerlang 1996, esp. p. 156; Said 1995. Oxfeldt provides a thorough discussion of Said’s orientalism versus what she terms the *Nordic orientalism*.

Danish historiography became interested in other topics. I hope I have contributed to putting crusading in the Late Middle Ages and its long afterlife in Denmark back into historical discourse. In 2001, the Swedish historian Thomas Lindkvist wrote: “Sweden was never a great crusading nation”.²⁸ It feels safe to conclude, with Jacques Bongar, that Denmark was.

²⁸ Lindkvist 2001, p. 130.

APPENDIX A

Missa pro paganis from *Missale secundum ordinarium et ritum ecclesie Slesvicensis* (Schleswig, 1486).

[Rubric:] Pro paganis

[Collect] Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia jura regnorum. respice in auxilium christianorum ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt. dextra¹ tue potentie conterantur.

[Secret] Per dnm ecclesiam

Sacrificium tuum² domine quod immolamus intende et propugnatores tuos ab omni eruas³ paganorum nequicia: et in tue protectionis prosperitate⁴ constituas.

[Postcommunion] Per dnm Complanda

Protector noster aspice deus. et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis: ut ab omnibus perturbationibus erepti.⁵ liberis tibi mentibus deseruiant.⁶

Comment

On the development of this set of prayers cf. above chapter 1 at pp. 114–15. On the basis of the text of the Clementine set found in the registers in the Vatican archives, Amnon Linder has classified the sources for this *Missa contra paganos* into two groups according to their Holy Land specificity or generic character, as determined by their rubrics. An A-group being specifically for the Holy Land and a B-group, which consists of either untitled sets or sets carrying the rubric *Contra paganos* or similar

¹ No examples listed by Linder.

² Linder A2, B 60, 210, 219.

³ Multiple examples mainly from the B-group.

⁴ Multiple examples mainly from the B-group.

⁵ Only from the B-group nos. 54, 60, 73, 80, 88, 99, 210.

⁶ Multiple examples mainly from the B-group.

variants like *Contra Turchos* etc. Both groups are further divided into two sub-groups:⁷ AI dating from the fourteenth century; AII dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; BI chronologically close to Clements' set and therefore probably performed in support of the cause of the Holy Land; BII where some probably were performed in support of the Holy Land but many were renewed in new initiatives mainly against the Turks.⁸ The Schleswig missal obviously belongs to the BII group. By comparing the text from the Schleswig missal to the many variations listed by Linder, it becomes apparent that our text should probably be seen in connection with crusading against the Turks. I have singled out with footnotes places where our text differs from the original text preserved in the Vatican, based on Linder's edition. With the exception of the variation indicated by n. 1, its variations are all found in a missal from the episcopal archive in Münster dating from 1481 (Linder's B 210) with the rubric: "Collecta pro defensione ecclesie contra Turchos" and with an addition at the end: "C dies indulgentie a domino papa Calisto tertio".⁹ This is not to say that this particular missal served as source for our missal, but it makes it safe to assume that the Clementine set from Schleswig was probably renewed in connection with crusading against the Turks in the fifteenth century. It thus becomes evidence of the liturgical innovations in connection with crusading against the Turk within the territories of the Danish king.

To quote Linder's conclusion on this set: "This set was not a fossil, a frozen relic kept in some forgotten corner of European liturgical heritage, but a rite that never lost its appeal for most of the Church, a text that remained topical thanks, precisely, to the very changes it underwent during the two centuries [fourteenth and fifteenth centuries] under discussion. And much more than other types of transmitted texts—literary, theological or jurisprudential—the fate of liturgical depends, first and foremost, on their celebration; on how and when they are actually performed. Hence the extraordinary susceptibility to change of all the rites that are focused on temporary realities, on the

⁷ Linder is interested in those explicitly used for the Holy Land. The B-category is therefore secondary to his investigation, but equally important as the A-group for the present study.

⁸ Linder 2003, pp. 120–28.

⁹ The text and sources are found in Linder 2003, pp. 130–36, 151–67 with B 210 listed on p. 166.

actual conditions of life as experienced by the society of the faithful as a whole and by each one of them as an individual; the Clementine set participated wholly in the nature and qualities of this genre of liturgy”.¹⁰

¹⁰ Linder 2003, pp. 144–46 with quotation on pp. 144–45.

ILLUSTRATIONS



De Pygmæis Gruntlandiæ, & rupe Huitfark .

Olaus Magnus' Fremstilling af Klippen Hvitsark, de grønlandske Pigmærer og deres Huse af Hvalfiskeribben (Fra Aar 1557).

Fig. 1: A European and a pygmy fighting on Greenland. Detail from the map of Olaus Magnus, *Carta Marina* from 1539, see fig. 12. Reproduced here from Bjørnbo 1912, p. 14 with kind permission from *Dansk Polarcenter*, publisher of the MoG.

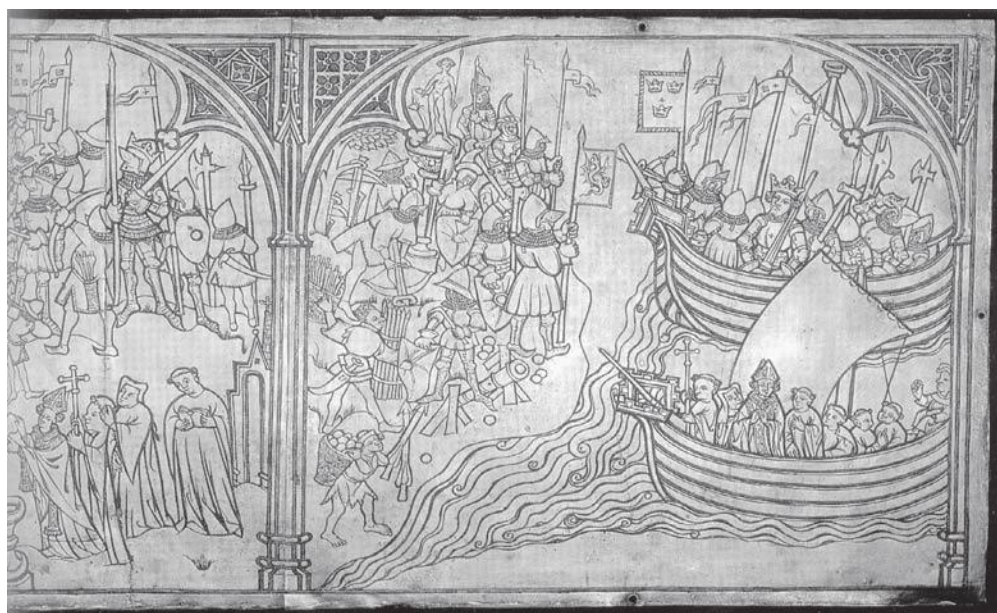


Fig. 2: One of the fifteenth century plates depicting the crusade of Saint Erik and Saint Henrik of Sweden, decorating the sarcophagus of Saint Henrik in Nousiainen Church, Finland. The detail depicts the Swedish crusade fleet and army with cross-banners, and the conversion of the heathen Finns. Photo: John H. Lind.



Fig. 3: The great fifteenth century statue of Saint George in *Storkyrkan* in Stockholm. See the many photographs of details in Svanberg 1998. Photo: Anders Qvarnström.

FRONTISPICE.



Mort de Suénon et de Florine !...

Fig. 4: The death of Prince Svend and his Burgundian wife Florina in Anatolia in 1097. Illustration for "l'usage de la jeunesse", taken from the *Beautés de l'histoire des croisades* (Paris, 1824).

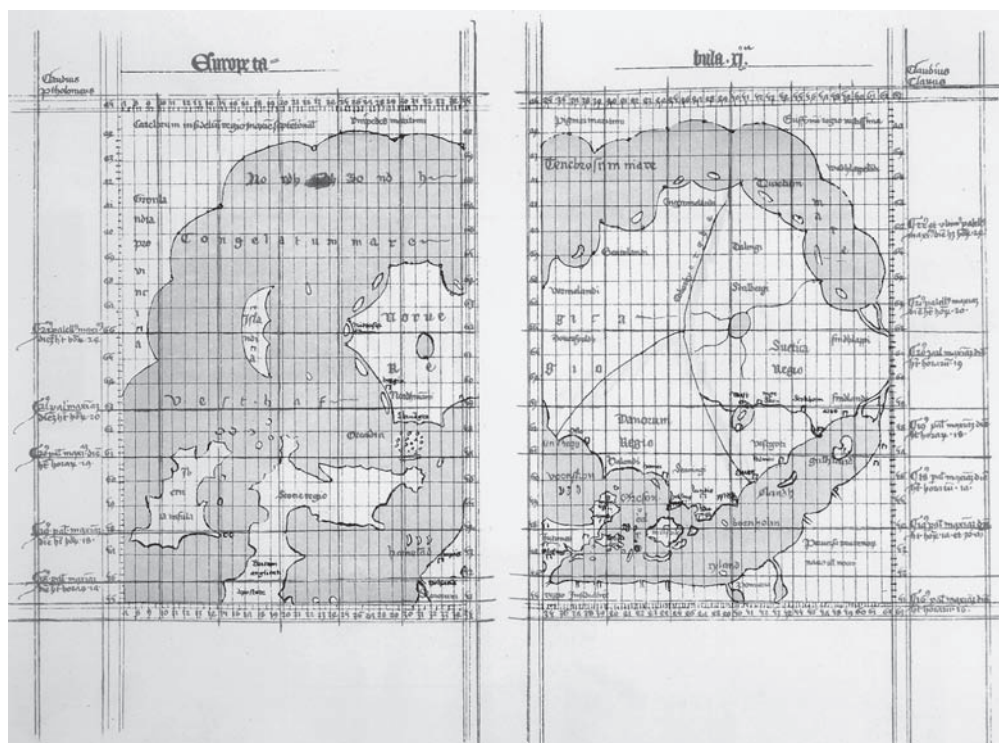


Fig. 5: The older map of Claudius Clavus, copied by Cardinal William Fillastre [the Elder] in 1427. North of Greenland live the heathen Karelians, and in the unknown land at the North Pole towards Greenland, live the pygmies. From N. E. Nørlund, *Islands Kortlægning*, Geodætisk Instituts Publikationer, 7 (Copenhagen, 1944), pl. 2. Photo: *Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, Copenhagen, Denmark.



D pour ce que iadis souloit on mettre
 en escript les bonnes chevaleries q̃
 les princes et les conquereurs souloient
 faire ainsi que on treuve es ausiens
 hystoires voulons nous oy faire ma-
 nion de l'empire que gadifer de la
 sale et bethencourt cheualiers nez du royaume de france
 l'un piteux du pais de conarloys l'autre uoist du pays de cœux

Fig. 6: The Canarian crusade of Gadifer de la Salle and Jean de Bethancourt in 1402 from the opening page of the narrative contained in ms. Egerton 2709, British Library, London. Reproduced with kind permission.



Fig. 7: Genoese world-map of 1457, *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Portolano 1*. Reproduced with kind permission from the *Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali*, Italy.

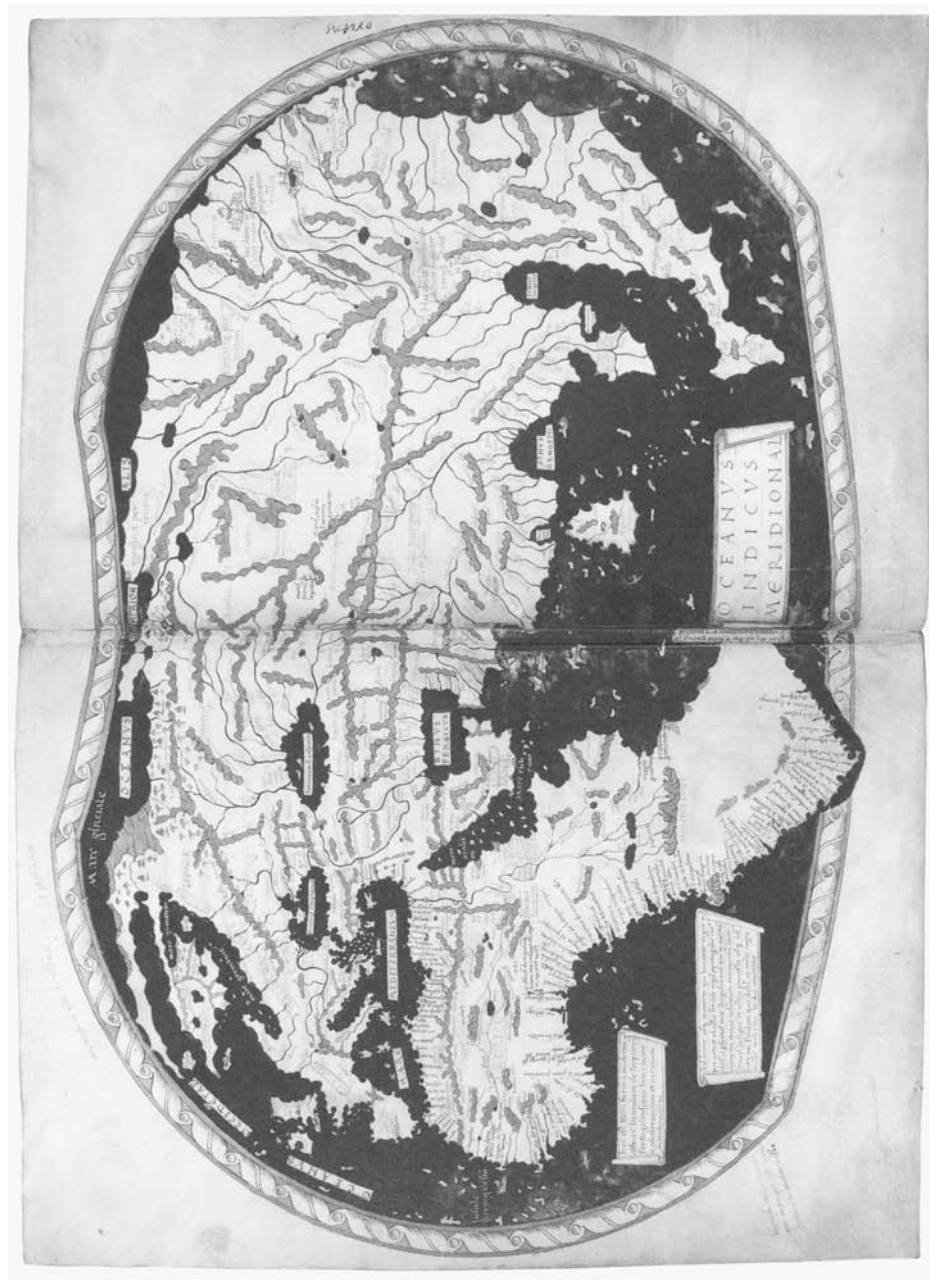


Fig. 8: Heinrich Martellus' world-map of 1489. Facsimile-print in *Monumenta Cartographica*, table II, from British Library: Add. 15760. Reproduced with kind permission from the British Library, London.

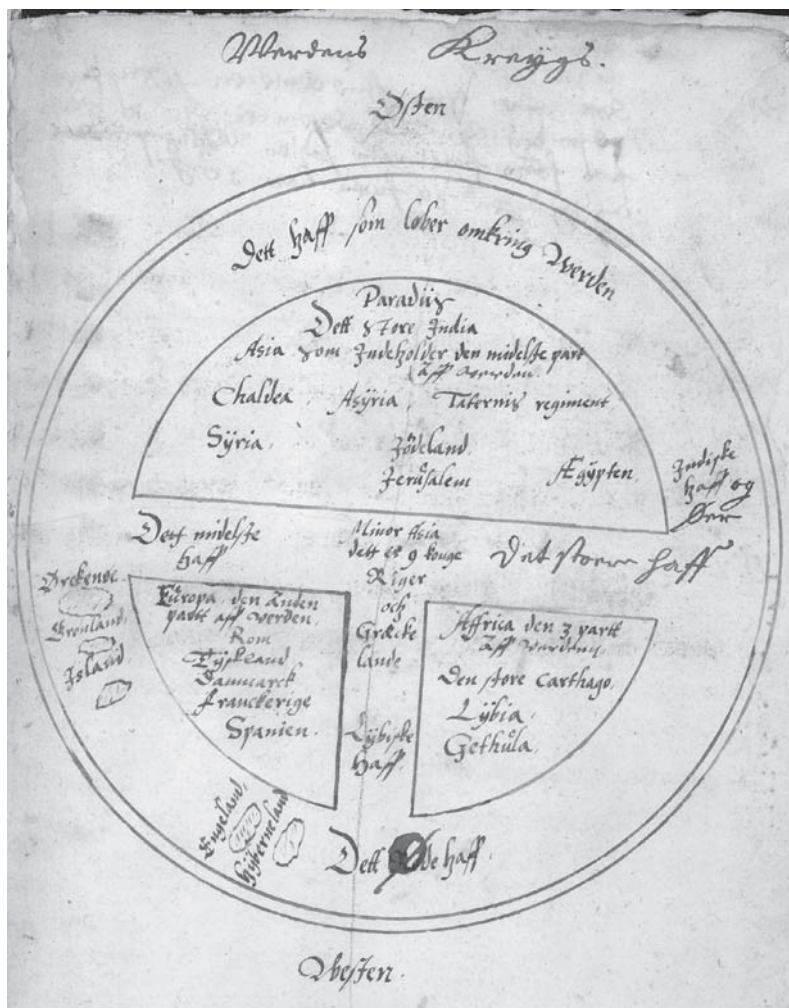


Fig. 9: OT-map drawn by Christiern Pedersen in 1521. Several copies exist. This is probably the oldest, dated around 1550 by Bjørnbo 1909. From KB: Thott 797 2°, fol. 277. Photo: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.

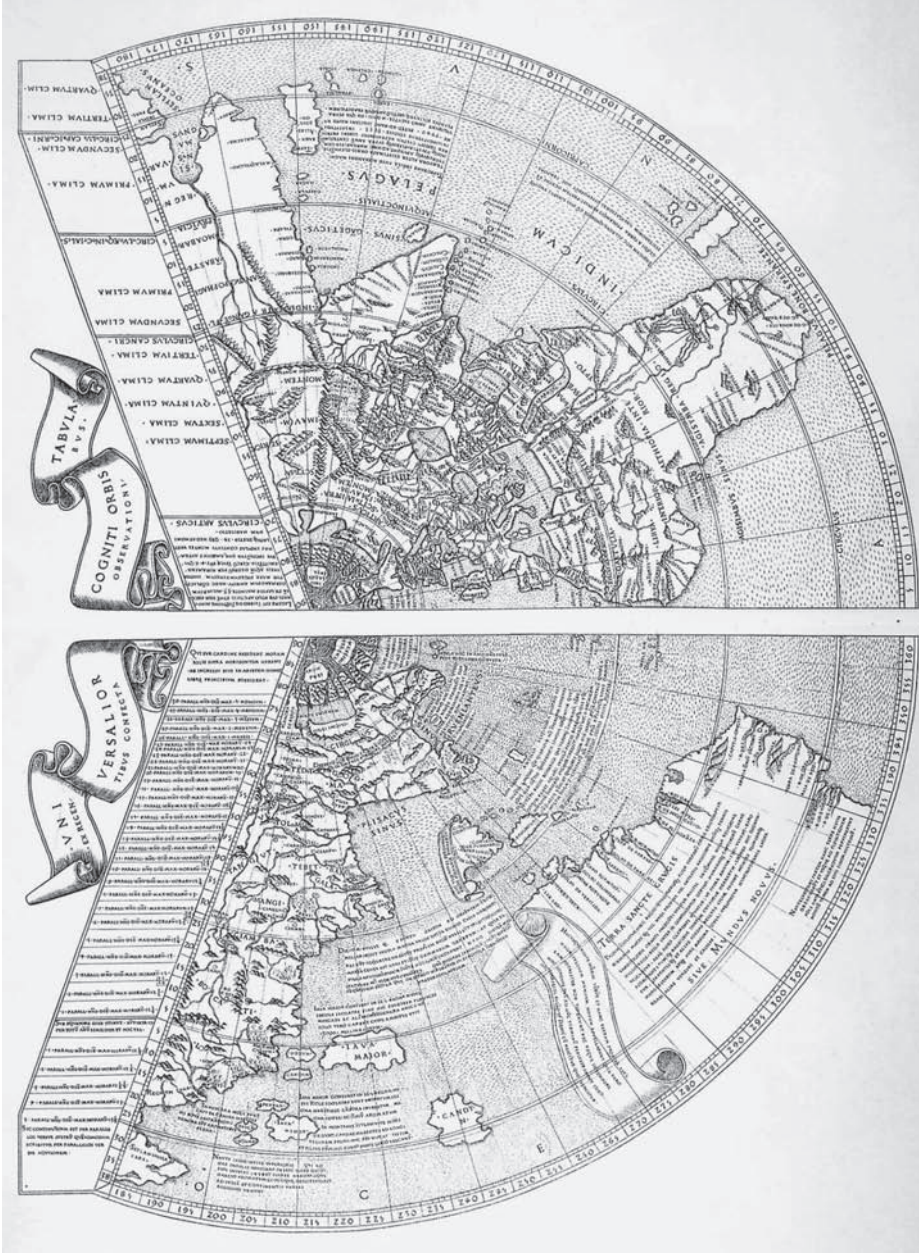


Fig. 10: Ruysch's world map of 1508. From A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimili-Atlas* (Stockholm, 1889), pl. 32. Photo: *Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Fig. 12a: Detail of fig. 12. A small boat attacks a larger ship off the coast of Greenland.



Fig. 13: Godfrey of Bouillon, one of “the nine worthies” – the kings David, Joshua, and Judas Maccabaeus from the Old Testament; Hector, Alexander, and Caesar from Antiquity; and the three great Christian kings Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon – jousting with Judas Maccabaeus in the Danish church of Dronningelund in around 1520. Godfrey has, however, become “Gotfred of Babylon”, but still carries his Jerusalem-cross. Photo: John H. Lind.



Fig. 14: Found at p. 177. Turk with spiked baby. From Danish *Türkenbuchlein* printed in Copenhagen 1594: *Novigrad det store Befestelse indtagit*.
Photo: *Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, Copenhagen, Denmark.

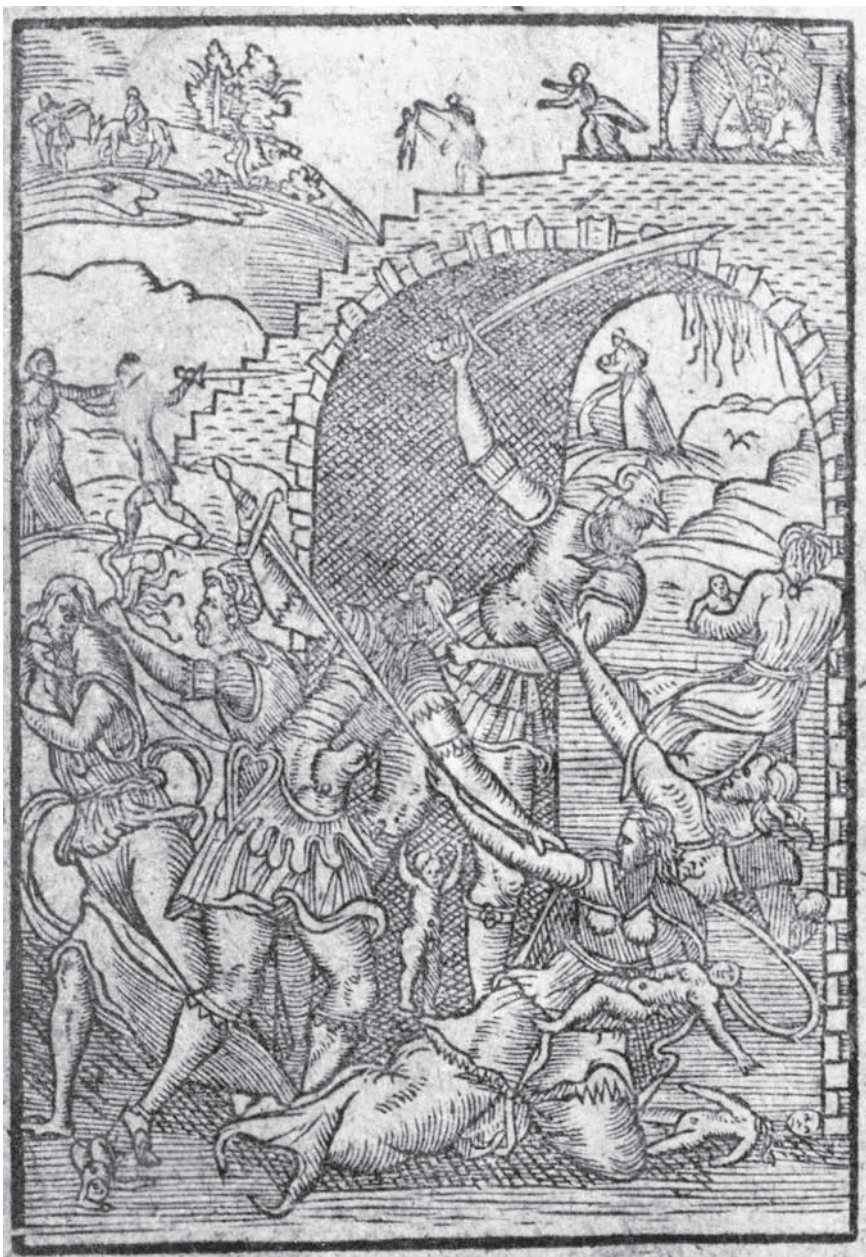


Fig. 14a: Turks killing women and children. From illustration to *En Merckelig Historisk Vise*, printed in Copenhagen 1594, describing Turkish atrocities. Photo: *Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Fig. 15: Detail from the Ringsaker tabernacle, produced in Antwerp in the 1530s, depicting the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian. A shield with a Jerusalem-cross is placed in the tree above his head. Photo: Jan Haug, *Hedmarksmuseets fotoarkiv*, Hamar, Norway.



Fig. 16: The body of Prince Svend is discovered and his famous sword recovered. Painting commissioned by Christian IV before 1642. Photo: *Statens Museum for Kunst*, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Fig. 17: Christian IV's Order of the Armed Arm. Photo: *De Danske Kongers Kronologiske Samling*, Rosenborg Slot, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Fig. 18: Medal struck by Christian IV showing the Armed Arm standing on a Bible, spreading the Evangelical light. Reproduced from Johan Heinrich Schlegel, *Geschichte Christian des Vierten Königs von Dännemark*, vol. 3 (Copenhagen, 1771) facing p. 396.
Photo: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Fig. 19: Christian IV's collar of the Order of the Elephant depicting the Armed Arm. Photo: *De Danske Kongers Kronologiske Samling*, Rosenborg Slot, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Fig. 20: Coins depicting the Christ-cross and engraved with the words “In hoc signo vinces”, struck by Christian IV, and their Portuguese models. Photo: *Den Kongelige Mønt- og Medaillesamling*, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, Denmark.

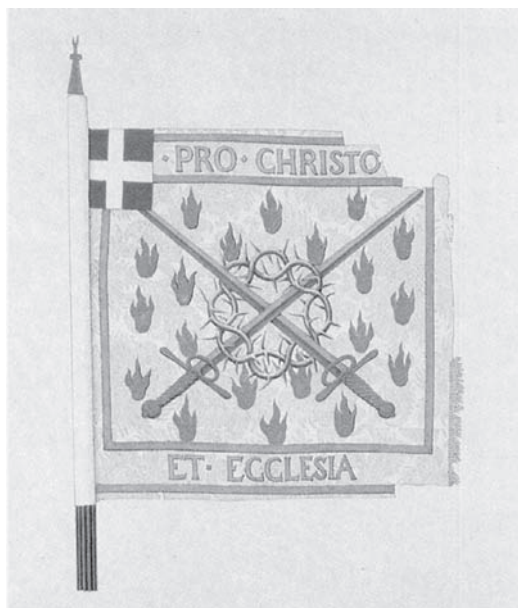


Fig. 21: Standard with Dannebrog, *Tøjhusmuseets historiske Fanesamling*, Fb.1. It is suggested in the catalogue *Christian IV og Europa* (cat. no. 1290) that it was originally captured from or used by a Catholic regiment, due to its imagery and slogan. However, there is really nothing that would have been objectionable to a Protestant, or could not have been used in a Protestant context. Reproduced with kind permission: *Tøjhusmuseet*, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Fig. 22: Christian IV's vision of the suffering Christ. Photo: *De Danske Kongers Kronologiske Samling*, Rosenborg Slot, Copenhagen, Denmark.

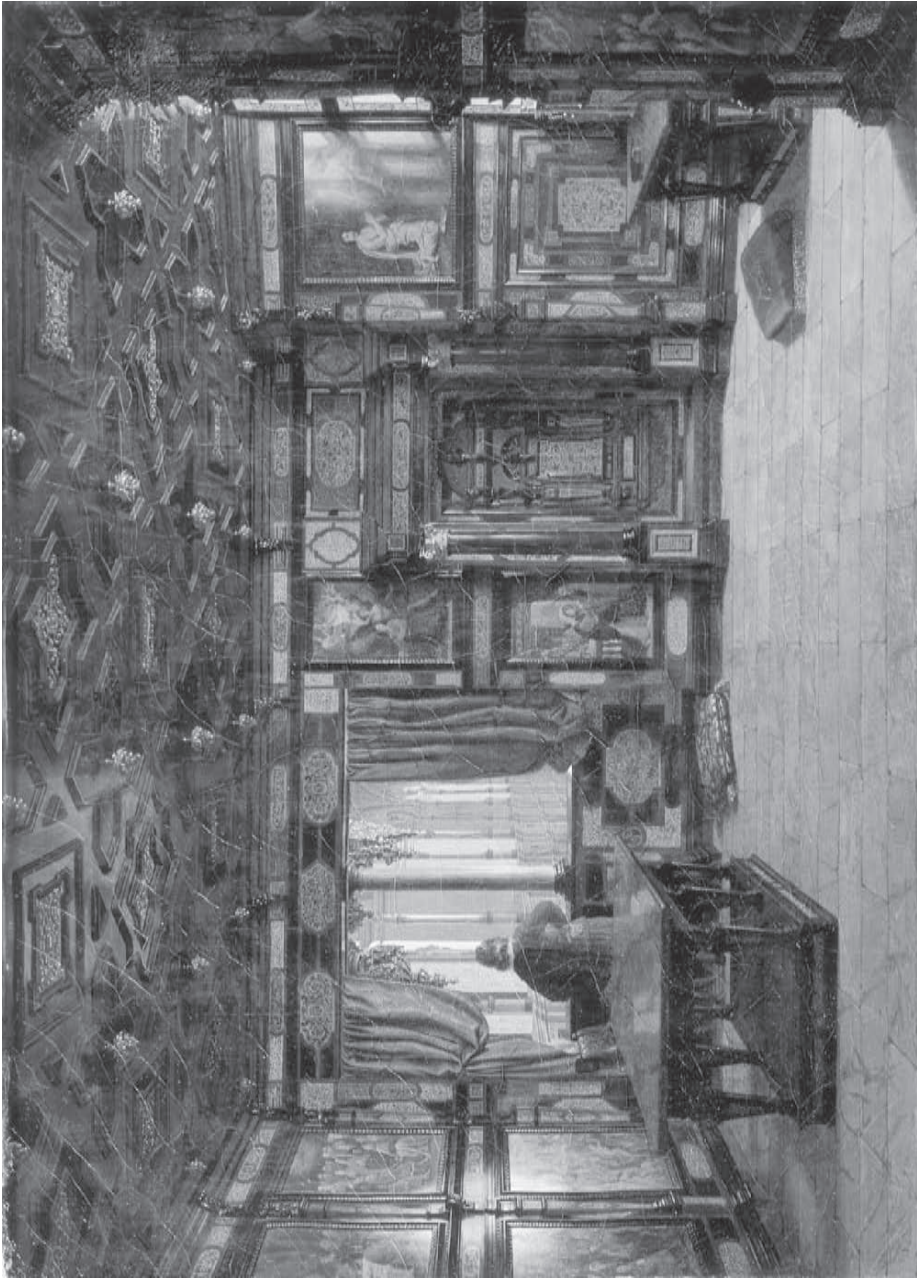


Fig. 23: Christian IV's prayer-chamber at Frederiksborg Castle, which no longer exists. Photo: *Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg Slot*, Hillerød, Denmark.



Fig. 23a: Detail of fig. 23 showing Christian IV in penitential garb, kneeling before Christ appearing on a cross. Photo: *Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg Slot*, Hillerød, Denmark.

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KB: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, København [The Royal Library, Copenhagen]

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NkS 2121 4°

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UUB: Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek [Uppsala University Library]

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Abbreviations

APD: *Acta Pontificum Danica. Aktstykker vedrørende Danmark 1316–1536*, ed. L. Moltesen, Alfred Krarup & Johannes Lindbæk, 7 vols (Copenhagen, 1904–43)

APS: *Acta Pontificum Svecica*, ed. L. M. Bååth, 2 vols (Stockholm, 1942–57)

CR: *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. 1 ff. (Braunschweig, 1834 ff.)

DBL Bech: *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, ed. Sv. Cedergreen Bech, 16 vols, 3rd ed. (Copenhagen, 1979–84)

DBL Bricka: *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, ed. C. F. Bricka, 19 vols (Copenhagen, 1887–1905)

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- LUB: *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*, ed. Friedrich Techen, 12 vols in 13 (Lübeck, 1871–76)
- MGH: *Monumenta Germaniae historica*
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¹ Full references are found via the entries in the footnotes. Authors whose works were published prior to 1650 have been listed by their first name. Modern works have been listed by their titles or by the author's last name and year of publication. If several authors with similar surnames occur, they have been differentiated by adding their initials in the footnotes. If several works by the same author appeared in the same year, they have been distinguished by letters a, b, c, etc. If a work is written by more than one author all surnames are used in the footnotes followed by year of publication.

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